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THE LIFE
of the
ICELANDER JÓN ÓLAFSSON

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VANDALORVM GOTHORVMQVE REX; DVX SCHLESVIG HOLSTIE
STORMARIE ET DITHMARSIE; COMES IN OLDENBORCH ET DELMSTADIE

Sc. Archetipo Petri Jacobi Marcellus Regis pictori. Joannes Muller sculp.

The LIFE
of the
ICELANDER JÓN ÓLAFSSON
Traveller to India

Written by HIMSELF and COMPLETED about 1661 A.D.
with a CONTINUATION, by ANOTHER HAND, up to
his DEATH in 1679

Translated from the *Icelandic edition*
of SIGFÚS BLÖNDAL,
by
BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS, O.B.E., M.A., LITT.D.

Mistress of Girton College, Cambridge
Author of *Kindred & Clan, The Elder Edda, and Ancient
Scandinavian Drama, etc.*

Volume I
LIFE and TRAVELS: ICELAND, ENGLAND,
DENMARK, WHITE SEA, FAROES,
SPITZBERGEN, NORWAY
1593-1622
Edited by
THE TRANSLATOR

L O N D O N
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PREFACE

THE Autobiography of Jón Ólafsson, Traveller to the Indies, remained unprinted in Icelandic, save for a few excerpts, until 1908-9, when an edition by Mr Sigfús Blöndal, Librarian of the Royal Library, was published in Copenhagen by the Icelandic Literary Society¹. The text in this edition, which was based on a scholarly collation of the extant MSS., has been implicitly followed in the English translation.

A few excerpts or summaries from the work had been previously printed. Jón Ólafsson's report of the conversation he and Jón Halldórsson had with Christian IV about the needs of their native country (pp. 56-7, in this edition) was published in the Icelandic periodical *Sunnanfari*, v, by Ólaf Davíðsson, as also the passage about Icelanders in Copenhagen (pp. 37-8). The section from the third part (in vol. II) about the Turkish raid on Iceland was published by Dr Jón Thorkelsson in his work on that raid, published in Reykjavík in 1906-9². And in 1887 the editor Valdimar Ásmundsson published a kind of digest of the work in his journal *Fjallkonan*.

But the fact that it was not printed does not justify us in assuming that it was not valued in Iceland. The great number of MS. copies of such a lengthy work (Mr Blöndal has traced twenty-three) sufficiently prove its popularity. Its value was pointed out in Bishop Finnur Jónsson's *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiae*³, published in 1772-8; and Halfdán Einarsson, who

¹ *Æfisaga Jóns Ólafssonar Indíafara samín af honum sjálfum* (1661). Nú í fyrsta skifti gefin út af hinu Íslenska Bókmentafjelagi með athugasemdum eftir Sigfús Blöndal. Kaupmannahöfn. Prentsmiðju S. L. Møllers 1908-9. It contains appendices, indices, and a list of the more important variant readings.

² *Tyrkjaránið á Íslandi*, 1627. Sögufélag gaf út (Reykjavík, 1906-9), pp. 200-316.

³ Vol. III, p. 563.

published his History of Icelandic Literature in 1786, had sent a short Danish summary of the work to the Danish historian J. H. Schlegel, who published the first part of it in his valuable *Samlung zur dänischen Geschichte*, II, 4, pp. 173-9, Copenhagen, 1773. Unfortunately Schlegel died before he could carry out his intention of publishing the summary of the second part, but the book was not lost sight of in Denmark, and indeed was printed in Danish before the original was published. From the first half of the nineteenth century comes a Danish ms. translation of the first sixteen chapters of the original, written in two different hands, but it is full of misunderstandings and errors. Finally the work was translated by Mr Sigfús Blöndal, before he thought of undertaking the labour of an edition in Icelandic. This translation appeared in vols. I and VII of the series *Memoirer og Breve*, edited by Mr Julius Clausen, Librarian of the Royal Library, and Colonel P. F. Rist. The Editors provided a sufficiency of scholarly notes for the general reader; the translator wrote a short preface and notes on Icelandic matters. This charming translation¹ in a popular series, the second volume none the worse, for the ordinary reader, for being much shortened, attracted general attention to the work, and Mr Blöndal's final edition of the original was the result of the warm welcome accorded to the Danish edition. The present editor has most gladly availed herself of the kind permission of the Editors of this Danish edition to quote any of their annotations. Such quotations are marked R.C. in the following pages². Some of the other annotations are from the Icelandic edition, and these are followed by the initials S.B. These notes, however,

¹ *Jón Olafssons Oplevelser som Bøsseskytter under Christian IV. Nedsættelse af ham selv. I Oversættelse ved S. Blöndal. Udgivne af Julius Clausen af P. Fr. Rist. Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag (København, 1905). The second volume is entitled *Jón Olafssons Oplevelser som Ostindiefarer under Christian IV*, and appeared in 1907.*

² Before the Danish translation was printed it was used as the chief source for the earliest history of the Danish colony in Tranquebar by Mr Kay Larsen, who published the first part of his *History of the Danish East Indian Colonies* in 1907. The present English translation will, I understand, be referred to in the forthcoming work of an English scholar, Miss M. E. Seaton, on the Influence of Scandinavia on English Life and Thought in the Seventeenth Century.

by no means fully represent my indebtedness to Mr Blöndal for information, mainly but not exclusively concerning Icelandic matters. He has taken a lively interest in the English edition, and has collected further information for it.

Still greater however is the debt of the actual translation to Mr Blöndal. Translation from any Icelandic work of the seventeenth century is rendered peculiarly laborious by the absence of a dictionary. Even Cleasby-Vigfússon's *Icelandic-English Dictionary* pays little attention to the language after 1300 A.D., and the pocket dictionary of Modern Icelandic does not attempt to deal with the earlier centuries. Moreover a large part of Icelandic literature in the seventeenth century is still in MSS. to which I had no access while I was making my translation. All these difficulties were aggravated by Jón Ólafsson's custom of Icelandicizing a foreign term when he could not find an Icelandic one. Thus when stripped of their Icelandic disguise, Portuguese, German and Dutch terms, and even one Russian one, are revealed in his pages, besides many Danicisms. And the unfamiliarity of his style is a good deal increased by his frequent use of idiomatic terms which are not Icelandic or even Danish, but German in origin¹.

Thus the task of translating the Autobiography was not an easy one, and I should certainly not have been able to regard my translation with any degree of real confidence if I had not had the help and advice of Mr Blöndal, who was peculiarly well fitted to advise me, as he had already been engaged for years on his monumental Icelandic Dictionary, the first half of which is now published². Mr Blöndal read the translation in MS. and again in proof, was always ready to discuss obscure passages, and thanks to his thorough knowledge of English was often able to suggest a closer rendering of a phrase than I had hit upon. The translation aims rather at accuracy than elegance, but I have tried to avoid quite modern words and phrases, and to reproduce something approaching Jón's style, though for the comfort of the reader

¹ Cp. note 1 to p. 103.

² Sigfús Blöndal, *Íslandsk-Dansk Ordbog*, 1 Halvbind (Reykjavík, 1920-22).

I have frequently divided Jón's longer and more involved sentences into two.

Some of the MSS. on which the Icelandic text is based occasionally give Icelandicized forms of Danish names, which are rather difficult to identify for any reader unversed in Icelandic: *e.g.* Kárseyri for the Danish Korsør. A study of the List of Variant Readings in the Icelandic edition suggests that this Icelandicizing tendency is on the whole more characteristic of the later MSS. than of the earliest. If Jón Ólafsson's own MS. should ever be discovered, it would of course be desirable to give the Danish names exactly as they appear there—most of them probably in fairly normal Danish forms—but no purpose can be served by furnishing the English reader with Icelandic spelling of a Danish name, in one passage from a nineteenth-century, in the next from an eighteenth-century MS. I have accordingly given the ordinary Danish forms of Danish surnames and place-names in my text. All the variant spellings¹ in Mr Blöndal's text will be found in the Index², but of course there are innumerable other variants in the various MSS. As will be seen from the notes, the great majority of persons mentioned are readily identifiable³, and in no case in this volume is there any doubt about the actual Danish name.

As regards Icelandic names, the Icelandic þ is rendered by *th*, but ð (with the sound of *th* in "thee") has been allowed to stand. The nominative final *-ur* in the masculine after a consonant, has been dropped.

The map of Jón Ólafsson's home district has been specially drawn for the Hakluyt Society in the Topographical Department of the Danish General Staff from the large scale maps

¹ It is perhaps worth noting that some of the MSS. occasionally turn a surname with a Danish meaning into a corresponding Icelandic word: thus we find variously in Mr Blöndal's text Falk (the Danish form) and Fálki, Icel., a falcon.

² There will be a general Subject Index to both volumes in vol. II.

³ I have recently come across what seems to be a trace of Michell, the Italian craftsman, mentioned on p. 87 *infra*. Metcalfe, in his *Oxonian in Iceland*, 1867 ed., p. 309, states that a fine brass chandelier in the Hitárdal church in Iceland bears the date 1616 and the legend "Michellini hat mich gegossen."

of the survey of Iceland now proceeding. I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Captain V. Tretov-Loof, of that Department, for the great trouble he took in helping to trace all the localities mentioned by Jón Ólafsson and by the author of the third part of the work (in vol. II), and generally in the preparation of this map.

The plan of Copenhagen is taken from the collection of early maps of Copenhagen belonging to the Royal Library. It does not seem to have been published in any of the topographical works on Copenhagen which I have consulted. It must however be noted that owing to the date when it was originally made, probably between 1596 and 1600, it does not properly represent Christian IV's new harbour, arsenal, and provision-store as described by Jón. These improvements were only begun after 1600 and finished in 1614. (They are very prominent in Wijk's view of Copenhagen, reproduced in this volume.) On the other hand the Long Bridge, begun in 1618, seems to have been added to the plan at a later date, also a building which can hardly be anything else than the Exchange, built in 1623. There must therefore have been an attempt, made about 1623, to bring the plan up to date, but it was not very thorough, as Rosenborg castle, begun in 1610, just outside the walls, has not been added, though it would have been quite as easy to fit it in as to add the Bridge.

The portrait of Christian IV which forms the frontispiece of this edition, and the view of Kronborg Castle are both from the Royal Library collection.

The illustration of two Danish gunners in the preceding reign is taken from the very remarkable military work by Joachim Arentsehe¹, printed by the Copenhagen printer Lorentz Benedicht. It contains a number of hand-coloured woodcuts. Only one copy of the work is known, in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, and it is probably the finest book ever produced in Denmark.

Johan Diricksen's engraving of Wijk's view of Copenhagen from 1611 is in the collection of the Danish National

¹ *Ein Buch zusammen gezogen aus vielen probierten Künsten und Erfahrungen, wie ein Zeughausz sampt aller Munition anheimisch gehalten werden sol.* . . (Copenhagen, 1578). The work with its various parts is described by R. Paulli, *Lorentz Benedicht* (Copenhagen, 1920), pp. 56-64.

Museum. Both it and the illustration from Arentsehe were reproduced in the Icelandic edition.

I have to record my thanks to Mr Holger Larsen, Head of the Department of Maps and Engravings in the Royal Library, and to Count W. Ahlefeldt-Laurvig, for facilitating my search through the collections and for much valuable advice, and to Mr P. B. C. Westergaard, Secretary of the Danish National Museum, for similar help in the Museum, and for arranging for photographs to be taken of the view of Copenhagen.

My own obligations and those of the Society to the generous help of Mr Sigfús Blöndal have already been indicated. Next to Mr Blöndal this volume owes most to Sir Richard Carnac Temple, who has taken a constant interest in the work and who kindly read the translation in typescript as well as in proof. His great experience has been most valuable, and his many queries very stimulating. The notes to the part of the work dealing with England (pp. 18-30) are by him. I should also like to thank the President of the Society, for reading the proofs and for useful suggestions.

It is a pleasure to thank Mr Clausen and Colonel Rist for allowing me to quote from their annotations in the Danish edition, and to add my special thanks to Mr Clausen for his constant courtesy and ready help in the Royal Library.

My thanks are also due to the Staff of the Rigsarkiv, the Danish Record Office, for much help in searching for MSS. I am indebted to Mr Georg Galster of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen, and to Mr G. F. Hill of the British Museum, for making enquiries into the nature of the *quaderante* dollars mentioned on p. 221 of this edition. The fact that these dollars continue to remain mysterious confirms me in my belief that the MSS. are at fault.

I cannot conclude this Preface without remembering my obligations to the late Mr J. B. Peace, of the Cambridge University Press, for his help and kind interest in the work.

BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS

July 20, 1923.

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INTRODUCTION

TO VOLUME I

THE Life of Jón Ólafsson falls into three parts ; or perhaps more properly, since only the first two parts are written by himself, into two parts and an appendix.

The first part, opening with his childhood and youth in the remote north-west of Iceland, his voyage to England in 1615, and his brief stay in that country, has for its main subject his experiences as gunner's mate in Copenhagen and on various Northern voyages, in the service of King Christian IV. It is this part which is comprised in the present volume.

The second part, to be edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Richard Temple, deals with Jón Ólafsson's voyage to India in 1622, his life as a member of the Danish garrison in the fort at Tranquebar, and the voyage home in 1624-5, a terrible record of privation in a rudderless vessel ; his stay, with other survivors, at Youghal in Ireland, and his return to Copenhagen towards the end of the year which had seen Christian IV's ill-fated entry into the Thirty Years' War.

The autobiographical part ends with his return to Iceland in the spring of 1626. It is followed by an account of the remainder of his life, probably composed by someone in the household of Magnús Magnússon, sheriff of Ísafjörð, Jón's native county—possibly by the sheriff himself—and ending with Jón's death in 1679, in his eighty-fifth year. This third part is carelessly put together, contains no account of Jón's writings, and would be of little value but for the fact that it gives a fairly full account of the raid of the Barbary corsairs on Iceland in 1627.

The two parts into which Jón's own memoirs naturally fall differ very considerably in value, regarded as historical sources. His sojourn in Denmark covers a period for which

sources of various kinds are ample. Besides the great wealth of State records there are the diaries of Christian IV himself and of some of his nobles; there are the narratives of foreign diplomats and merchants; there are the works of contemporary scholars. And there is little that is new in his account of his voyages. The second part, on the other hand, gives information unobtainable elsewhere, for Jón's account both of natives and of Danes in India is far more detailed and far more vivid than the jottings of the Chaplain Mads Rasmussen, who like Jón survived the voyage home on the ill-starred *Pearl*, and like him wrote reminiscences. The two volumes are thus of very unequal value.

Yet in one respect Jón's narrative of his life in Europe is as unique a document as that of his life in India. It is true that there are abundant sources for the years 1615-22 in Denmark, when Jón Ólafsson was in the service of King Christian IV. But they are all written from the point of view of the governing classes. Not for those years, nor for any other years in the half-century which saw Denmark's mighty struggle for maritime supremacy in Europe, and her subsequent fall, have we any real access to the mind of the common man, save through the pages of this gunner's mate, an Icelandic peasant. For Jón's references to his distant connection, through his mother, with distinguished persons in Iceland must not blind us to the fact that though typically self-respecting, Jón's own family¹ was poor and obscure. On the barren, mountainous little farms of Svarthamar and Dvergasteinn, in one of the more desolate regions of Iceland, Jón had probably been through a harder school than even the down-trodden peasants of Denmark. At first sight his education seems incompatible with such an origin, but though no doubt better than that of some nobles in the rest of Scandinavia², it indicates no especially favoured status or circumstances in his own country, and his humility about it in his Preface is probably quite unfeigned. It is true that

¹ See pp. xxix f., *infra*.

² Cp. V. Lütken, *Bidrag til Langelands Historie*, pp. 145, 173, and also the Introductory chapter in M. E. Seaton's forthcoming work mentioned above, note 2 to p. viii.

the decay of education, amidst the disasters and famines of the first half of the seventeenth century, is a common theme of lament among contemporary Icelandic authors¹, but there was still a great deal of truth in the statement made by a Norwegian divine some thirty years before Jón's education began, that "among the Icelanders it is a usual custom that they teach their children, of both sexes, to read and write²."

No doubt Jón may have gleaned some information from the talk of the more distinguished Icelanders he knew in Copenhagen. And there is enough of an official flavour about his reference to the king's endeavours to keep the "Danish waters" free of pirates (p. 118), to suggest that he was a diligent reader of royal proclamations. But in the main he evidently relies on the talk of his comrades in guard-room or forecastle³—men who in civil life were of the small artizan class: tailors, weavers, tapsters and the like. In fact Jón faithfully mirrors the attitude of the common folk, still so wholly inarticulate, and in the main so uninformed. They are deeply interested spectators of the doings of the great, but are without any grasp of their inner significance. Jón and his friends swelter cheerfully in the sun that a foreign Bishop may be received with royal honours, and they enjoy the festivities of the visit undisturbed by any knowledge of their king's endless schemes for securing a whole series of German Bishoprics for his sons, while the Bishops were still great territorial princes; nor do they realize how this policy irritated and alarmed the Catholic powers. And since most

¹ Espóln observes that some of the poorer ministers had had no opportunity of learning Latin, but he adds that they were well versed in Danish and German, and had good books in those tongues. *Íslands Arbætur*, 4 Deild, p. 140.

² Absalon Pederssøn, in *Norske Magasin*, 1, p. 99.

³ From this point of view it is very instructive to compare Jón's account of the capture of the pirate Mendoza with the official report of the Admiral (ch. xvii and notes). Jón's authority is evidently some comrade who had been on the expedition, probably on the *Jupiter*. He gives several interesting details omitted by the Admiral, and he knows, what perhaps the Admiral did not, or perhaps thought fit not to report, the reason of the long delay of the Danish messengers on board the pirate: it was the good cheer offered to them—a statement indirectly corroborated by the Lieutenant's ironic reference, in the Admiral's report, to "an entertainment."

of Christian IV's great enterprises were slowly leading him and his country into disaster, there is a kind of unconscious irony in Jón's pages, so full of the king's activities and glory, unshadowed by all that was to happen before Jón committed his memories to paper. As one of the garrison at Kronborg Castle he watches the press of ships in the Sound, and helps to keep order among the crowding foreign skippers, chafing to be aboard but compelled to pay their dues; and he pockets his drink-money undisturbed by any idea of the part played by those tolls in alienating England and the Netherlands. With satisfaction he sees his Admiral threaten to open fire on the Hamburg vessel which refuses to show its Danish pass, and he narrates with glee how he lays the gun for his royal master to fire at a Dutch vessel, for a joke. Nor does he realize, any more than the king himself, that by a multiplicity of such acts Christian IV is earning the distrust and dislike of the other sea-faring nations, so that Denmark will have very half-hearted friends among the Lutheran powers when her need is sorest. He sees the Dutch and English whaling vessels off Spitzbergen, and does not know that their presence, uncontested, means that the king has already had to abate his extravagant claims of sole fishing and trading rights in the North Atlantic from the Faroes and Iceland to Spitzbergen and the White Sea.

Jón is also of service in convincing us that the prosperity commented on by all visitors to Denmark was really enjoyed by the common people. We never hear of Jón's pay being overdue: the gunners' rations are more than ample: the work, except on board ship, is extremely light, and allows Jón's comrades to pursue their civil avocations. Even when Jón is cast into a dungeon he and his fellow-prisoner each receive salt fish, beer and a candle daily as well as a loaf of bread. The servants of the nobleman Manderup Parsberg carouse half the night, and Jón always has money to spare for a meal at a tavern, washed down with a sufficiency of foreign wine. And yet he can still afford to pay enough to have his lodging in the house of a lady of the nobility, though an impoverished one.

But Jón is not only the mouthpiece of the humble. He is also the last of that long line of Icelandic men-at-arms who have left to posterity a portrait of the king they served. And though the different circumstances of a later age did not afford him the opportunities enjoyed by the royal bodyguard in that primitive period dealt with by the Icelandic Lives of the Norwegian kings, yet Jón is no unworthy successor of Sturla or of the Icelandic warrior-skalds. None of the foreign ambassadors who visited the court of Christian IV has given us such a vivid picture of that monarch. In the king's voyages to Norway and in his questions about the needs of the Icelanders Jón shows us the solicitude for his more distant subjects which so honourably distinguished Christian IV; and not even from the king's own Journal do we gain such a vivid impression of his incessant activity and real simplicity of character as in the brief paragraph where Jón shows him heaving at the wet snags among his gunners, his coat off, or himself weighing out powder to test the guns, heedless of the foundry-master's warnings. No one but Jón, too, could have told us of the uses of Christian's pet dog in warning his subjects of the approach of their ubiquitous monarch.

But best of all, because most characteristic, is the interference of the king in the casting of the bronze figures (pp. 85-6). It was characteristic of him to search Europe for the best craftsmen to design and execute the beautiful groups of bronze figures with which he decorated his fountains. It was still more characteristic of him to look in upon their labours at six o'clock in the morning to see how the work was progressing. And, unfortunately for Denmark, it was more characteristic still that he was in too great a hurry to have the work completed, and that in despite of the warnings of the expert he marred the figures by turning on the tap too soon. The story is significant: it might stand as an allegory of his career. He conceived great designs: he was indefatigable in carrying them out, but he could not let his plans mature. He could not lay foundations and wait for another to build on them. He wanted to make Denmark supreme at sea and a great Continental power all in his own lifetime. Many of his

ambitions might have been realized if by forcing the pace he had not antagonized the countries which should have been his allies, and against the advice of all his Council plunged into a ruinous war. Her Swedish provinces were what Denmark ultimately lost through his haste, and that loss was unlike the missing part in the bronze group: it could never be repaired, even at the greatest expense.

It is little wonder that with his beloved king absent in Germany, his old comrades no doubt scattered or dead, and his right hand maimed so that he could no longer remain in the service, Jón's longing for his own country became so great, on his return from India, that he would not even wait in Copenhagen to see the issue of his efforts to recover his property, but took the first ship to his own West Firths. But it is impossible to help wishing that he could have been with his royal master in all the disasters of 1643-5, when, nearly seventy years old, having just lost an eye in action at sea, Jutland overrun, disasters everywhere, the downfall of Denmark apparently imminent, Christian IV retrieved almost everything by his own indomitable energy and courage. Jón's picture of him then would have been worthy of the Icelanders who fought on many a stricken field in Scandinavia centuries earlier. But Jón could no longer load or lay cannon, and he went home. We must now consider what little is known of him apart from his own memoirs.

THE AUTHOR

Two brief references are all we know of Jón Ólafsson besides what he tells us himself. But it happens that both are very illuminating. The first is a statement, unauthenticated but repeated by a learned and trustworthy Icelander, Sæmund Eyjólfsson¹, that when Jón saw the glaciers of Iceland arise from the sea, as he stood on the deck on his voyage home, he was beside himself with joy, leapt into the air, and cried out, "In spite of all, Iceland is the best country the sun shines on." The other reference is at the end of an

¹ *Búnaðarrit* 10 (Reykjavík, 1896), p. 111.

eighteenth-century ms. of the Autobiography, in which the third part is replaced by a very brief account of Jón's later life. This ends as follows: "He (Jón) was entertaining and cheerful and could talk of many things. He was a competent tailor and had also a good understanding of doctoring; had some skill in the art of verse and was well informed in many subjects, but was perpetually in difficulties with his farm. His son was Ólaf, who dealt in doctoring like his father."

We do not know who wrote these lines, but some corroboration of their truth, and therefore of their authenticity, can be gleaned from Jón's own statement about his cure for scurvy (p. 164) and from his casual reference to ripping up his old tunic to use as lining (p. 71), which seems to show more capacity for tailoring than could be usual among artillerymen. And it is certainly true that after eleven years' absence, and with a maimed hand, Jón would not be likely to make much of the very highly specialized art of farming in Iceland. It seems justifiable therefore to conclude that this description was first written by someone acquainted with Jón, and we may therefore accept the other statement that he was entertaining (*skemtinn*) and cheerful. These are quite the qualities we should expect him to have, for however much we deplore a certain naïveté in self-praise, partly perhaps due to his literary models, we must admit that in the words of his Icelandic editor Mr Blöndal, he must have been well liked by his comrades and superiors and best liked by the best of them.

As a writer of travels he is certainly too ready to believe everything that is told him, and where, as in England, he is not as much master of the language as he thinks he is (or as the rascally innkeeper tells him he is) he is far from trustworthy. But there was no opportunity for misunderstandings in Copenhagen, where he was well versed in the language and had a very wide acquaintanceship, and he evidently had a most tenacious and accurate memory for everything except dates. As will be seen in the notes, it is possible to control the vast majority of his statements, and the more they are looked into the more amazing appears the

memory which could hold so many details and so many names for more than half a life-time. In one instance, at least, he is more accurate than a well-informed Dane writing immediately after the event. The nobleman Sivert Grubbe, a constant companion of the king, notes in his journal for July, 1616: "On this northern voyage the Chancellor Christian Friis died on the ship *Spes*." Jón writing from memory in 1661, recalls correctly that it was the *Fides*. In the few cases where he errs in the matter of names, it is always because of the aversion felt by Icelanders from writing anything tantamount to "a man whose name I do not recall." (The very folk-tales in Iceland begin: "There was a farmer at so-and-so, called so-and-so," instead of "There was once a man.") This dislike of vagueness in nomenclature occasionally causes Jón to invent a name, but it is always very obviously invented; as for instance the minister Nicolaus of the church of St Nicholas (p. 200); "Gabriel" Kruse (instead of Enevold) on the *Gabriel* (p. 153) and probably the boat-swain Peter, late of the *St Peter* (p. 207).

It seems clear that Jón had no diary, and indeed if he had kept one it must have been lost to him with all his other possessions on the *Pearl*. Some of his statements in ch. xxxi certainly have a diary-like air: "a Thursday in August"; "the following Tuesday," and "the second Thursday after our arrival," but all these days appear to be erroneous, like so much of his chronology. It may be convenient to give a chronological list of Jón's voyages and doings, trusting to his own statements where no other evidence is available. .

1615. Jón leaves Iceland on June 23; reaches Harwich about Aug. 11; starts for London at end of August; leaves London early in November; arrives in Copenhagen certainly not earlier than Nov. 21, so that if he was out of work by Christmas he can only have been a month at most in service in the Royal Stables.

1616. About Jan. 14 is actually entered at Arsenal.

Spring. Voyage to White Sea and Faroes.

His return can be dated by the reference to the death of Christian Friis, and must have been early in August.

1617. May 7-15. Voyage with Christian IV to Flekkerø.

1618. May 22. The Bishop's visit.

The Session of the High Court to which Jón refers and which he says was in 1619 must probably have been in this year and not in 1621, as he went to Kronborg soon afterwards.

"That same year" went to Kronborg.

1619. In Kronborg in February, when King Christian and King Gustavus met at Halmstad.
1620. Spring. Voyage to Spitzbergen (Jón puts this in 1618).
Autumn. At Arsenal. His trial.
1621. "In April, after Easter," liberated. Jón thinks he was confined for nine or ten weeks, but if he is right about April his period of imprisonment must have been longer. According to the New Style, adopted in Denmark in 1582, Easter fell on March 27 in 1621.
1622. July 18-Aug. 6. Fourth voyage. With Christian IV to Bergen. (Jón says in 1621.)
Oct. 8. Starts for India.

It seems worth while to discuss the question of Jón's trustworthiness somewhat fully, since it is very important for a right estimate of the value of his information about India, where his statements cannot be so easily controlled as in this volume.

There are two main points on which his trustworthiness may be called in question as far as his life in Denmark is concerned: (i) his account of himself; (ii) his account of his enemy Grabow. It may be as well to take these in order.

(i) The vanity we have already had occasion to notice certainly makes Jón gloss over some of his errors. In his statements to his sergeant about the visit to his plague-stricken friend (pp. 106 ff.) he certainly uses an economy of truth, and the same is probably the case as regards the accuracy of the charges against him at his trial (p. 182), and though in both cases it was an economy of truth which would be absolutely condoned by the public opinion of his comrades, we should have liked Jón to deal a little more candidly, perhaps, with his readers.

In his old age Jón may allow himself to believe that his superiors took more notice of him than they actually did. The Burgomaster Peter Andersen Randulf can hardly have told Jón the story of his journey to Jerusalem (p. 63) because the story bears unmistakable signs of a pre-Reformation origin. And it seems possible that Jón did not play such an important part as he says in reconciling his Admiral and the captain of the *Gabriel* (p. 161) or in giving advice about the pump (p. 163). But on the other hand he makes nothing of his real superiority over his fellows in ability to read and write, nor does he ever pretend to be of higher status than he was. Nor does he ever boast of any special skill or

strength. When it is remembered how much his readers in Iceland would be prepared to swallow—and we can hardly form a just estimate of that until we read the folk-tales about him in the Appendix to this volume—it must be admitted that Jón adhered very closely to the truth for a man writing forty years after his adventures, when all who could contradict must have been dead. And this impression remains after much study of his trial, which is really a valuable addition to our knowledge of legal procedure at the time. It is also only fair to observe that though Jón had a good conceit of himself he was entirely free from that baser form of vanity which belittles the character and achievements of greater men.

(ii) At first sight it seems quite incredible that Grabow should be such a scoundrel as Jón represents him and that he should yet go scot free. But firstly we must remember that Christian IV could not afford to alienate the German nobility who supplied him with mercenaries, and he certainly would have alienated them if he had allowed Grabow to pay the penalty of his crimes. And secondly the little that we know of Grabow's later career does suggest that he was an unsatisfactory character and singularly skilful at getting himself out of tight places. In 1624 he is made Inspector of the Royal Mines in Norway—the kind of job the king would give to a man he wished to have at a distance without giving offence. In 1626, although busy with the war, the king writes several letters to order an enquiry into his conduct, and in 1627 writes that he is to be sent to be tried at the Session of the High Court at Kolding in Jutland on October 15¹. Owing to the German invasion of Jutland this Session was never held, and Grabow was to be tried at the Copenhagen Session in December. But a mysterious half-apologetic letter from the King to the Chancellor, dated Nov. 4, pleads that His Majesty had forgotten that his case was still unheard². Nevertheless, on Nov. 30, authority is given to summon him to that Session, but the case is not mentioned in its records, and the year after we are surprised to find Grabow reinstated in

¹ *Norske Rigsregistranter*, v, pp. 379 ff., 505, 535, 541, 549, 615 f.

² Bricka og Fredericia, *Christian IV's Breve*, II, p. 114.

his Norwegian property¹. In 1628 a house near Manderup Parsberg's in Copenhagen, sold to him in 1624 by the king, is still called his². Only two explanations seem possible: one that the king for some reason was afraid to prosecute Grabow when it came to the point—very probably for the reason given above—or that Grabow got some opportunity of distinguishing himself in the war and so was pardoned. But so far as the story goes it tends to corroborate Jón.

One other criticism of Jón's trustworthiness may perhaps be made. It is in regard to his ancestors on his mother's side. Not all the ingenuity of Icelandic scholars, skilled in genealogy though they be, can adapt to the actual dates Jón's claim to be the great-great-grandson of Sir Jón the Swede³, who came to Iceland as a Roman Catholic priest in 1530. And the most likely surmise concerning the identity of the Hamburger Governor Pétur Skytta (probably Schytt or Schiött), is that he was a follower of some Governor and acted as his agent in his absence. It is not recorded of either of the two possible Governors called Pétur⁴ that he was murdered, and it is difficult to believe that such an incident could go unrecorded. A confusion between the Governor and his agent could the more easily have arisen since the foreign Governors appeared only intermittently in Iceland, and in the fifteenth century there were sometimes rival Governors.

There is nothing else to question in Jón's account of his genealogy. An Ástríð, sister of Jón Sigmundarson, is not known, but may well have existed, and there is no reason to doubt that Jón was distantly related on the maternal side to Bishop Guðbrand—his second cousin twice removed, to be exact. And he is no doubt stating no more than the truth in claiming that the minister Sveinn Símonarson was his maternal great-uncle's step-daughter's husband⁵.

¹ *Norske Rigsregistrarer*, VI, p. 41.

² *Kjøbenhavns Diplomatarium*, I, p. 614.

³ Since publishing his own edition Mr Blöndal has consulted Professor Finnur Jónsson and other scholars on this question.

⁴ A Pétur Trúelsson is known as Governor of Iceland in 1495; and a Pétur Kláússon in 1497.

⁵ For the sake of clearness a genealogical table is given at the end of this Introduction.

But Jón's insistence on these distant relationships and his comparative ignorance of his father's family certainly suggest that his mother plumed herself on her superior descent. If this was so the errors regarding her forbears may well originate from her and should not be attributed to her son.

There was a certain simplicity about Jón which made him unable to perceive, even long afterwards, that the English innkeeper was flattering him for a purpose (p. 20) or that the alleged dream of his fellow-prisoner was barefaced cadging for a drink (p. 178). This simplicity must have been a temptation to some of his informants to tell tall stories. Either we cannot acquit our countrymen of being especially ready to succumb to this temptation, or we must suppose that Jón was particularly prone to believe what an Englishman told him. Certainly he errs more often in his English information than elsewhere, whether it be about the five English "brothers" of Mandaus, who was, as is well known elsewhere¹, a Spaniard, or the horrors of Spitzbergen (pp. 156-7), or in matters of English history. It seems that when he only hears a story once his critical faculty is not acute, though he is probably not more credulous than the ruck of contemporary travellers. But where he depends on his own observation, and where he can question and compare the statements of others, he is remarkably trustworthy. Note his story of the murder of Master Søren (pp. 46 f.), which is much better put together, better motivated and more credible than the account of the same incident by the king's historiographer Helvaderus.

The Autobiography is not Jón's only literary work. Two MS. copies of a translation of a work on Greenland, *Grønlandske Chronica*, by the Dane Claus Christoffersen Lyschander, published in Copenhagen in 1608, conclude with the words: "Jón Ólaf's son, Traveller to the Indies, translated the above Chronicle." (MS. in the Arnamagnæan collection,

¹ Mr S. C. Hill refers me to *Danish Arctic Expeditions* 1605-1620, Hakluyt Society, 1st series, Nos. 97-98, pp. xxiii-iv (Introduction to vol. II).

No. 779 c, 4to.) He also translated for the Sheriff Ari of Ögur two cycles of Danish ballads, one dealing with the legendary king Persenober, and the other with the famous Danish "Marsk Stig"—Marshal Stig Andersen. Some of these translations are still extant. Probably Jón used Vedel's edition of the Ballads, published in 1591.

Besides a hymn, of which only the first line is known, Jón's only other original work was a poem of 197 strophes, dealing with his own life and composed at the bidding of his patron Ari. Only the first strophe has been preserved, unless, as seems likely, the verses on pp. 10 and 77 are quotations from it. It is not certain whether this is the earlier attempt at an Autobiography mentioned by the author in his Preface as having been lent and lost, or whether there was an earlier prose version.

Of Jón Ólafsson's merits as a poet I am not competent to judge. But a few words as to his prose style in his Autobiography may not be out of place. He is evidently not satisfied with it himself, and it is certainly cumbrous and long-winded, and occasionally obscure, especially in the first volume. It is obviously much influenced by Danish theological works, which almost necessarily formed his chief reading, and his own style certainly compares well enough with that of his models. The second part of the work gives the impression of having been less polished, and perhaps also of having been influenced in the direction of simplicity by the geographical work of Hans Nansen, to which we know he had access.

Throughout the work, however, there are certain passages remarkable for their complete independence of any literary model, unless it be that of the old Icelandic Saga. In writing of the more stirring episodes of his life Jón has probably used the very words in which he had narrated them, times without number, to audiences in Icelandic cot and Icelandic mansion. These passages are characterized by brief sentences and by the free use of direct speech and of the historic present, and they suggest that the Saga style was still a living tradition in oral story-telling. These passages are the most vivid in

the book, and must always be of interest to the literary historian.

There are one or two points to be noticed in the arrangement of matter. Jón's voyage in 1616 is certainly awkwardly fitted in long after he has related the events of the voyage in 1617. But this is because he is telling of the king's mishaps with the *Patientia* after the death of the Chancellor, and it is perhaps natural to go on to tell of the final successful voyage. His two main voyages he puts together for convenience, though the first was in 1616 and the second in 1619.

The amount of space devoted to a kind of police-court record of Copenhagen scandals (Chaps. VI and VII) may well be criticized, but it must be remembered that stories of city crime are always much appreciated in the country, and these tales had probably given much pleasure in Icelandic up-country farms. There is another possible explanation of these chapters, perhaps not as far-fetched as it seems to us. When Jón wrote his reminiscences in 1661, Ichabod had already been written across all the glories of the first part of Christian IV's reign. Denmark had been plunged into disaster, and Iceland had suffered with her. There must have been those, even in Iceland, who attributed these miseries to the rash policy of Christian IV. Jón never mentions a criticism of his beloved king, but it is possible that these chapters are a kind of answer to such criticism. It was firmly held at the time that the sins of the country brought down Divine punishment, and Jón may in effect be suggesting a cause for the disasters of 1626 and 1643, a cause quite as acceptable to his contemporaries as Christian IV's folly¹.

¹ There is certainly a discreet reference to Christian IV in the stories with which Jón concludes these two chapters of crimes, showing the dire effect German soldiers had on the morals of Danish wives. All readers of the time would remember the prolonged and notorious intrigue of Christine Munk, wife of Christian IV, with a German officer, and would regard Jón's examples from humble and noble families as a way of saying that such things occur in every rank, and are due to no fault of the husband.

THE MSS.

For a full account of the various MSS. readers are referred to Mr Blöndal's Introduction to the Icelandic edition, pp. xvii-xxx, which we may summarize as follows:

Mr Blöndal divided his MSS. into Group A, six MSS.; Group B, five MSS.; Group C, three MSS. Others, nine MSS. Of these he chiefly relied on the following:

From Group A:

- Ö. MS. 2076, 4to, in the Ny Kongelig Samling in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. At the end are the following words: "Now recopied with care at Ögur in Ísafjörð Deeps Anno 1729. In the month of December, before Christmas." Mr Blöndal therefore calls this MS. Ögursbök, or Ö.
- E. MS. 959, 4to, in the Arnarnagæan collection in the University Library in Copenhagen, written in the first half of the nineteenth century. Some passages are omitted, and the story is frequently condensed.
- D. MS. 723, 4to, in the National Library in Reykjavík. In several handwritings.

From Group B:

- B. MS. 92, 4to, in the collection of the Icelandic Literary Society, now in the National Library in Reykjavík. From before 1704: the earliest extant MS. Omits various sentences, and especially the religious reflections. Contains the third part in the handwriting of Sheriff Magnús Magnússon. B is unfortunately much damaged.

From Group C:

- C. MS. 405, 4to, of the National Library in Reykjavík. The title-page says: "Recopied on the Suefneyjar in Breiðafjörð, Anno 1758 by Pétur Jónsson." Appears to be based on MSS. from both the A and the B group. Contains the third part.

The method of classification employed by Mr Blöndal mainly turns (*a*) on the position in the second part of certain Danish letters and whether they appear in the original or are translated, and (*b*) whether the MS. contains the third part, which was composed by the Sheriff Magnús Magnússon or by someone in his household. All the MSS. which contain this third part depend on B, in which this part is in his handwriting. The other differences between the MSS., as regards the actual text, are trifling, except that some of the MSS. shorten the work somewhat. Only in one point is there a really marked contradiction between the MSS., namely in the story of the Earl of Cork towards the end of the second

part (in vol. II of this edition) where the story given in C is quite different from that given by the other MSS.

Mr Blöndal has based his text on the strong probability that the original text is preserved wherever all the main MSS. of both groups coincide, especially Ö, D, and B. Where Ö and B agree their text stands, where they differ he usually follows D, but has also taken readings from C and E when it seemed probable that the reading of the main MSS. was incorrect. The other MSS. have been merely used to fill up gaps in the main MSS. In the third part B, as the original MS., has naturally been followed, but as B is much damaged copies from it have been used wherever necessary. Occasionally Mr Blöndal has adopted emendations of his own when all the MSS. were more or less at fault.

THE LIFE
OF JÓN ÓLAFSSON THE ICELANDER
TRAVELLER TO THE INDIES

RELATED BY HIMSELF AT THE REQUEST OF WORTHY FOLK
AND ACCORDING AS HE CAN BEST RECALL IT NOW IN
HIS OLD AGE IN 1661. HE PRAYS ALL WORTHY
AND GODFEARING PERSONS, WHETHER OF HIGH
OR LOW DEGREE, FAVOURABLY TO RECEIVE
THIS WORK THOUGH ITS VALUE BE
SLIGHT, AND ITS UTILITY
SMALL; AND THIS HE
DESIRES OF THEM
IN
ALL HUMILITY

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE GRACE, BLESSING AND PEACE OF OUR LORD
JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOU ALL. AMEN.

BELOVED FRIENDS! It were fitting that I should not be convicted of too great an ingratitude for the marvellous benefits, of many kinds and beyond all reckoning, which God has so pitifully and generously conferred on me, of His tender grace, goodness and mercy; both in what concerns the body, the life, and the soul, in my sleeping and waking, by night and by day, by sea and by land in various quarters of the globe, under a burning sky and a cold one, near to my mother-country and far from it, among Christians and heathens, in prosperity and in adversity. All these His many and great benefits and glorious works it would in truth have befitted and behoved me to praise, honour, and magnify, both here in this country and in foreign parts, the which, however, I have alas! left undone, though it was my plain duty; and may God in His mercy deign to forgive me this negligence and heedlessness, as all my other sins and misdoings.

Now, in truth, some years past, I did set out to relate this same, yet I brought the writing to no conclusion, and it was borrowed and lost. Since then I have not applied myself to it on account of the toil and labour needful to earn my daily bread, and, on the other hand, because many persons would hardly be minded to receive such a work from such an inconsiderable person as myself. But because certain worthy persons have once more, in their kindness, exhorted me and urged me on, I have now at last in clumsy handwriting and ill-ordered style written a short account of the more particular events and occurrences that have befallen me in all my past life, knowing that I shall rather be held excused by the generality of our people, since I may venture to exhibit my ignorance as it were under the protection and shield of those worthy persons who have exhorted me to the task. And though much herein be foolish and of little worth, I bid the

kind reader to pardon that and much else in his good patience, but above all I ask that what is here said of God's works be turned to the honour, glory and praise of His holy name, that many may profit by the same and usefully observe it.

And furthermore I desire that whatever I have done amiss all through my life, whatever the office to which I have been called, may serve others as an admonition, lesson and warning, so that they may the more readily eschew my evil example, and study the more the conduct of wiser persons, and so attain a more steadfast perseverance and constancy in the vocation to which they are called. Herewith recommending you, and all the children of God, to His Almighty care both in body and soul, Amen.

J. Ó., Traveller to the Indies.

HERE BEGINS
THE FIRST PART OF THIS STORY
RELATING TO MY LIFE UP TO MY
VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES

CHAPTER I

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF MY BIRTH, ANCESTRY
AND UPBRINGING, TOGETHER WITH OTHER HAPPEN-
INGS, UNTIL I WAS TWENTY-TWO YEARS OLD AND
SAILED AWAY FROM THIS COUNTRY

THREE years before Christian IV, of august memory, took over the kingdom of Denmark after his blessed father, King Frederik the Second (who died in 1588), the coronation taking place in Copenhagen on the 29th day of August, 1596, in his 20th year¹, I was born into this world very early in the morning of the Sunday next after All Saints², at Svarthamar on the Álfafjörð, in the parish of Eyri, in the county of Ísafjörð³, of honourable parents united in lawful wedlock, viz. Ólaf Jónsson and Ólöf Thorstein's daughter. Ólaf's father was Jón Thorgrímsson who was himself the son of Thorgrím Jónsson; this Thorgrím was a man of mark and widely known, though of no very great wealth: for a long time he had his establishment on Æðey in the parish of Snæfell, and he died at the age of eighty-four. The name of my father's mother was Bríit, Thórð's daughter, a pious woman.

¹ According to general Danish custom Christian IV's minority should have come to an end on his attaining the age of eighteen, *i.e.* on Apr. 12, 1595. The Danish crown was, however, elective, and though he had been accepted as heir-apparent in 1580-2, it was not until Christian had put his signature to an undertaking similar to that presented by the Council of State to his father, that he formally took over the government of the country. This was on Aug. 17, 1596. (He had previously appointed nine new members of the Council.)

² The date of Jón's birth was thus Nov. 4, 1593 (O.S.) or Nov. 7 (N.S.). [S.B.]

³ See map.

This couple, Jón and Brít, lived to something over seventy years of age, and died many years before I was born, in the home of my parents of blessed memory. My mother, Ólöf Thorstein's daughter, was of North Icelandic family, and was reared at Miðfjörð¹, of an honourable stock: her father was Thorstein Sveinsson, who had four brothers—Ólaf Sveinsson stepfather of Thórunn Bjarni's daughter whom the late Sir² Svein Símonsson married, Thórð, and two of the name of Jón. These men were related to that Jón Magnússon who was the grandfather of those worshipful brothers, the lately-deceased sons of Magnús³.

My mother's mother was Hild, daughter of Sir Helgi, son of Sir Jón the Swede⁴, as he was called, from whom honourable families are descended. Hild's mother was Marín, daughter of Pétur Skytta⁵, a Hamburger who was Governor of this country and resident here: he married Ástrið, Sigmund's daughter, sister of Jón Sigmundsson, who, was the grandfather of Guðbrand, Lord Bishop of Hólar. Pétur had two sons, Hannes and Melchior, and two daughters, Marín and Guðrún. This Pétur was killed one winter in Lent, as he quitted his bath, by two of his own servants, who were bribed to the act by certain natives of this country on account of some ill-feeling that had arisen between them. These two sons of his went to Hamburg and took the greater part of their property with them, in particular, finery enough for twelve maidens; but both the sisters, Marín and Guðrún, stayed behind in this country, and this Marín was my great-

Miðfjörð, a small fjord opening into Hunafloi, north coast.

² *Síra*, Sir, remains to this day the title of clergymen, as in Elizabethan usage in England. Síra Sveinn, the father of Bishop Brynjólf of Skálholt, was minister at Skálholt 1578-82, and then at Holt in Öfundarfjörð (West Firths). In 1588 he became rural dean (*prófastur*) for the western part of the Ísafjörð district. He died at the age of eighty-five, in 1644. [S.B.]

³ Magnús the Magnificent (*hinna þrúði*), b. about 1532, d. 1591. His sons were Ari of Ögur (d. 1652), Björn of Bær (d. 1635), Jón (d. 1641) and Thorleif of Hlíðarendi, all Sheriffs. We hear more of them in Part III (vol. II). The relationship of the Sveinssons to Jón Magnússon is not traceable.

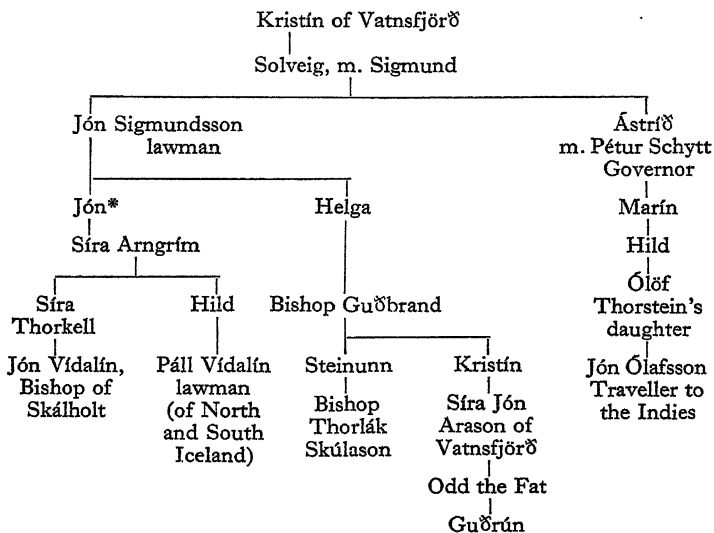
⁴ Síra Jón "the Swede," Matthíasson, the manager of the first printing-press in Iceland, held the living of Breiðabólstað in Vesturhóp (N. Iceland) from 1530-67. He can hardly have been Jón's great-great-grandfather.

⁵ The identity of Pétur Skytta is not clearly established, nor yet the genealogy which follows. Cp. Introduction.

grandmother, she being the mother of Hild, and Hild the mother of Ólöf, who was my mother; Guðrún was the great-grandmother of Marín, Halldór's daughter, who is now in Súðavík. But of these aforementioned sons of Pétur, it is said that a great kin in Hamburg is descended¹.

My blessed parents had fourteen children born to them in honourable wedlock, and of those only three survived childhood, namely Halldór, Thóra and myself. Between me and Halldór there was fourteen years difference in age, and seventeen between Thóra and me, and I was the next to last child born of my mother. There was no parish priest at hand at that time, nor in the parish, and on account of the driving snow and stormy weather it was not possible to send for a priest to Ögur². My parents sent out two men and a woman with me to Eyri in Skutilsfjörð to the house of Sir Sigmund Egilsson³, who then bestowed holy baptism on me, and both

¹ In the MS. 2076^b the genealogy is given in a table as follows:



* One generation is omitted here: Guðrún daughter of Jón Sigmundsson, married to Jón Hallvarðsson. [S.B.]

² Ögur, see map.

³ Síra Sigmund is mentioned in 1592 and in 1603 as holding the living of Eyri in Skutilsfjörð. [S.B.]

the outward and return journey prospered, by the help of God and of His holy angels.

Until I was a year and a half old I enjoyed good health and throve well. Afterwards I fell ill, and I was given in charge of a couple who lived at Hlíð in the same district: the husband was Eyvind Jónsson, the wife Guðrún, Guðmund's daughter, and they were honest folk. I was with them as foster-child for two years.

In my seventh year I was set to books¹. That year dysentery was much abroad in the land, and many were carried off by it². Through that sickness, in the autumn, during the month of October, my blessed father passed away, and several other farmers of the neighbourhood. Although my brother Halldór was then only twenty years old, yet he managed the farm together with our mother. The second autumn thereafter he married an honest and excellent woman, Randíð Ólaf's daughter, and he had by her six children.

The following winter was that great and notorious winter which people here called "The Torture³," and during the spring, between Crossmass⁴ and the beginning of summer⁵, a huge whale came up out of the ice almost at the innermost end of the bay, below the sheepfold at Hattardal, and provided sustenance for all, and the place became much frequented by people from other districts, for a great lack of food prevailed among the people of these parts, since winter fishing boats could not be rowed out after St Andrew's Day⁶, when the wind rose into what proved later an exceedingly foul

¹ For education in Iceland, see *Introd.*

² In the *Annálar* of Björn of Skarðsá 1603 is called "the year of the dysentery." Jón would then be in his 10th year. Espólin mentions dysentery as being particularly bad in the winter of 1601-2.

³ The winter Espólin calls *Þningsvetr*, "Torture-winter," was the winter of 1601-2. The previous year, both summer and winter, had been very bad. Espólin says (*Annálar*, iv, D, p. 95): "This (1601-2) was the second winter of the hard seasons, and at first the weather was good, but many died of disease and want: the losses in sheep were terrible." Björn of Skarðsá mentions that a whale drifted ashore in 1604.

⁴ Crossmass, *Krossmessa*, the feast of the Inventio Crucis, May 3.

⁵ The old Icelandic year was divided into about equal periods called "winter" and "summer." In 1601 "summer" began on Apr. 9, in 1602 on Apr. 15.

⁶ *Andreasmessa*, Nov. 30.

tempest. The hay crop from the previous summer was but small in many places round here, and the hay frequently of little value owing to the continuous rains.

In my fourteenth year my health improved by the grace of God, and by the skilful treatment of the obstinate complaint of my youth by a Danish ship's captain of the name of Anders, with a pious woman, my nurse, Thorkatla Páll's daughter, as a go-between. It was an apple which he sent by her to my mother, and of which I partook of the half: thereafter I grew and prospered in health¹.

When I was five years old I was all but drowned in the farm brook at Svarthamar, in my own cradle (which was made to play the part of a ship), had not my mother made her appearance so promptly. Again, another time, when I was eight years old, and with my brother Halldór, one Saturday in summer time, had ridden² out into the large salmon-river, Fjarðará³, as it is called, I had nearly been drowned, but that my brother Halldór succoured me by God's help. A third time, in the same year, when I was sent across the estuary Seljalandsós⁴ with an errand to persons journeying to the market-town, I was very nearly washed off my horse which went too near the sea at high tide and was obliged to swim. I was chastised on each of these occasions, as was deserved. My dear mother suffered great apprehensions on my behalf, especially with regard to rivers; and she and many others declared that it would fall to my lot to travel across the waters, and she prayed God continually to have me in His keeping, the which prayer of hers God our merciful Father has heard and graciously answered. Praise be to His holy name to all eternity! Amen.

In the winter of 1615, in my twenty-second year, I narrowly escaped death, being precipitated down the slopes of Dvergasteinshlíð⁵, for I struck the ground more than forty times in my fall, and on each occasion fell on my back. My

¹ An apple, or fruit of any kind other than berries, was quite unknown in Iceland at this time. The novelty no doubt worked the cure. Jón probably uses the word "apple" to designate any large globular fruit.

² Travelling in Iceland is usually done on horseback.

³ See map.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

mother never got to know of this, but my brother-in-law, Skeggi Gunnlaugsson, was outside the farmhouse at the time this happened, and did not know what to do, nor did he ever think to see me again alive. The previous spring it had so happened that my dear mother and I had removed from Halldór's at Eyrardal and taken up our abode at Dvergastein, with Skeggi and Thóra¹, and thus our sheep, being unacquainted with the district, got jammed in a rift, and could not be got at all the winter, and suffered greatly from hunger. I often attempted to reach them without my mother's knowledge and against her repeated prohibition. And on the occasion just described, the iron point of my staff broke as I was nearly half-way up the slope, and I was straightway hurled down to the rocks at the foot of the mountain, at every rebound being flung up skywards. When I ceased to fall, by God's grace and will, there were but a few fathoms' length between me and the rocks. So easy is it and possible for God to effect His purposes in accordance with His divine will, power, and good pleasure. And when I got to my feet I was all but unhurt and unhampered. Praise be to God! Amen. Many a lesser accident is often much talked of. Skeggi, who came to meet me half-way, greeted me with much tenderness, and gave praise to God with tears.

I can say that God has kept his hand over me in the air, on the earth, in the waters, on the ocean-floor, in fire, and has preserved me against thunder and lightning. These things have not happened that they might straightway be forgotten, any more than other great works and marvels of God which have been committed to writing. Nay, rather should they be set down and daily held up to our view, for children and grandchildren, unto the very end of the world, to the end that the glory of God's name may be kept in remembrance, increase and never fade:

In heaven and earth may songs of praise
Be raised to Thee in every tongue,
Father and Lord, the Living God,
Glory be Thine throughout all time. Amen.

¹ Jón's sister Thóra evidently married Skeggi Gunnlaugsson.

In the Snæfell district a notable event occurred in my boyhood. Of that spirit, as men thought it, and of all the strange and terrifying things that befell there, there is no need to insert any account in this place¹, but many less notable occurrences both in this country and elsewhere have been put down and recorded for the remembrance of those yet to be born.

In my eleventh year [1604], it so chanced that a married woman, Bóthild by name, had travelled hence out of Álftafjörð and west over the pass into Önundarfjörð², and she had with her a boy-child a year or two old, whose name was Ketill. And when the mother wanted to have come back hither into her own parts with her young baby, no one in Álftafjörð knew of her intention. This happened at about the time of the earlier feast of the Blessed Virgin³. And on her way hither, as she was crossing the mountain pass, a black fog suddenly descended, so that she went astray and wandered too far to the right, as far as the place called Valagil⁴, where the path is beset by precipices, and being both feeble and exhausted, she paused there by the prompting of God's spirit, on the very edge of these cliffs, and wearied from the long carrying of her child, she fell into a slumber, and so fell asleep in the Lord. Now no one, neither in the Önundarfjörð nor in the Álftafjörð, was aware of this occurrence. A short time later in the week a child's wail was heard down in the parts where

¹ This must refer to the notorious ghost which haunted Snæfellsnes (West Iceland) in the early years of the 17th century. The story is given in Jón Arnason's *Collection of Icelandic Folk-tales*, 1, pp. 260 ff. The minister at Stað, Síra Jón Thorleifsson, had ordered his son one winter's day to rescue his sheep from a dangerous place, and the son never returned alive, but did much damage at home as a ghost. His chief peculiarity was that he enjoyed his meals as much as if living, and he would throw stones from the mountain slopes on to those who did not give him food. Someone saw him eating dried fish and offered him a knife, but the answer was "The dead need no knife: they stand and rend." By magical arts his father obtained power over him, so that he had to do what he was bidden, even to going to the North of Iceland to fetch a supply of tobacco. (This seems somewhat of an anachronism, cp. p. 17, n. 3, *infra*.) Finally, he seems to have been induced to serve a sort of summons on himself, binding him to refrain from haunting living folk and beasts, and bidding him descend to "the ninth world."

² Önundarfjörð, West Firths.

³ Aug. 15.

⁴ See map.

men lived, and the folk that dwelt nearest thought it must be the howling of some strange beast. This befell early in August. At that time, in the year 1604, Sir Jón Grímsson lived at Svarfhóll in Álftafjörð¹. He was the parish priest for Ögur and Eyri², and when he heard of this, he sent out all over the district to every farm, to every tenant and land-owner, a written message with this purport, that every one of them should come to his house with all speed, weapon in hand, at once that very day, and there consider in his presence and with his advice how they should bear themselves in the above-mentioned matter. They resolved that folk should most earnestly seek out whence or from what creature this howling and piteous sound proceeded. Thus they started from the parson's dwelling. There went all the farmers liable to taxation, each with a three-tasselled halberd³, which had been imported into the country for sale the year before at the command and by the orders of His Majesty⁴.

And when they came to the place where the woman lay already long dead, and found the child by her side still living and the woman's body still unmarred, because the child had guarded it for many days and nights, then all were greatly amazed, and it was thought a sad chance, not least to that man who was the wedded husband of the aforesaid woman, Jón Eyvindsson by name. And so her body was carried to

¹ See map.

² Síra Jón Grímsson held this living from 1599 to 1615. [S.B.] Before the Reformation the Church had been the chief power in the country, and though the power of the clergy had much declined they would still take the lead on such an occasion as this, unless the sheriff (*sýslumaðr*) was at hand.

³ Possibly Jón means three-spiked halberds. For an illustration of such weapons see Eidem og Lütken, *Vor Sæmags Historie*; p. 199, fig. 3.

⁴ Nothing is known of this, but it is quite probable. According to the Sheriff Magnús the Magnificent, the policy of disarming the Icelanders (with a view to keeping the peace), pursued with great energy from 1576 to 1580, had left them so terribly at the mercy of any marauding ship's crew that in 1581 the Danish King had presented each county (*sýsla*) with six muskets and eight spears. At the same time, apparently with the consent of the Danish Governor, the Sheriff ordains that each farmer liable to taxation is to buy a musket and a spear, lesser folk are to have a spear and a knife. But the ordinance does not seem to have had any general validity. Cp. Jón Thorkelsson, *Magnúsar Saga príuða*, Copenhagen, 1895, pp. 67 ff.



Scale 1:200000

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 miles

Map of part of the West Firths in N.W. Iceland, showing localities mentioned by Jón Ólafsson
The heights are given in metres

human habitations, and then with all fitting ceremony and observance to the church at Eyri for burial. But this their son grew up in his father's house until he could maintain himself, and was afterwards a labourer with Sir Thomas Thórðarson, and died a little over twenty years of age in the Snæfell district¹.

The Danes first came into these harbours in the year 1601, in the spring after the great "Torture-winter," which is now reckoned to be sixty years ago. Truels was the first of the Danish merchants and he came after Konráð the Iclander, who was the last of the Hamburg merchants in these harbours².

¹ Síra Tómas Thórðarson became minister of Stað on Snæfjallaströnd (Snæfjöll) in 1629 and remained there till his death in 1670. [S.B.]

² Espólin says that the Danish merchants came in the spring of 1603, which according to him is the year after *Píningsvetr*. Trade with Iceland had for a long time been in the hands of German (Hamburg) merchants, who had ousted the English in the course of the 15th century. In pursuance of his policy of encouraging Danish trade, Christian IV, in 1602, granted a monopoly of trade with Iceland to the towns of Copenhagen, Malmø and Helsingør (see *Introd.*). "These harbours," the harbours in the Ísafjörð district. Truels was presumably the first Danish merchant to visit them. The name appears variously in the MSS. as *Traculus* (B. and Ö.), *Trochulus* (C.) and in the Danish Translation, *Ny Kgl. Saml.* 2077^a, 4to, as *Troilus*: the name was evidently *Troels*, for which *Truels* is the usual Icelandic form [S.B., in the List of Variant Readings]. The genuine Icelandic form of the name is *Thorgils*.

CHAPTER II

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF MY SAILING HENCE TO ENGLAND

IN the same year, as was mentioned before, when we had to write 1615, it so happened in the spring just before Crossmass¹, that an English ship of fifty tons dragged anchor in the Vestmann Islands² in a great storm and ran into Ísafjörð Deep³. She was moored out by that fishing place which is called the City of Rome⁴, where I had come for the purpose of laying in a store of fish. And because our way at that time lay daily close to this ship, I and my companions had the fancy to row up to it one morning⁵. The ship's master was called Isaac Brommet⁶, a remarkably fine, worthy and upright man. His mate was called William Hundten; the boatswain's name was Vincent. The master received me and my mates well, and there is no need of many words to tell how, without the knowledge of my dear mother, I undertook the voyage to foreign parts with this man. Our agreement was that I might take as much goods with me as I possessed and myself wished to take, and according to the English custom should pay him ten dollars on landing in England. My partner and all our comrades were much grieved at my plan.

Three days later I went to see my dear mother and told her what had happened, but because she had long known of this purpose of mine, her grief was not so bitter as otherwise it might have been, and she willingly let me have my will in this, recommending my body and soul, according to her daily

¹ Crossmass, see above, p. 8, n. 4.

² Vestmann Islands, Vestmannaeyjar, off the south coast.

³ Ísafjörð Deep, Ísafjarðardjúp, see map.

⁴ Rómaborg, "City of Rome," see map.

⁵ Visits to foreign ships were looked upon with great suspicion by the authorities, since any trading with them was forbidden under very serious penalties. See Intro.

⁶ Possibly Bromhead. Hundten, perhaps Hunter or Huntten. [S.B.]

wont, to the power and protection of Almighty God, the One in Three, and this her powerful intercession has, under God, been a stay to me. Praised be God and blessed be His Holy Name for evermore.

On the eve of St John¹, at about supper-time, I parted from my dear mother Ólöf Thorstein's daughter, who had then been granted sixty-eight years of life by the Lord. Unworthy though I was, many grieved for my departure. And so we set out from home, sailing out of the Álfafjörð and to the Deeps with a fair wind. My brother Halldór, my brother-in-law and my best friends accompanied me. I had a heavy dream the night I lay at Óshlíð², about the trials that were to come on me. The next morning we went to the ship and a great feast was made ready. Afterwards we parted with tears, each wishing the other good hap.

The next morning we steered westward out of Ísafjörð Deeps and away out to sea, and the ship's crew agreed to let down nets to catch fish for their food, and they took seven hundreds³ of cod. Then there sprang up a violent north-wester so that we could barely lower our water-sail⁴, and we lost ten barrels of train-oil⁵, and most part of the contents of a barrel I had brought with me. Then we ran west to Tálknafjörð⁶, where we hoisted our topsail. There came on board the worthy pastor Sir Guðmund Skúlason who at that time held the living of Laugardalsstað⁷. He openly urged me against continuing my journey to England and offered me to have all my goods transported north again for nothing. But

¹ June 23.

² Óshlíð. The party presumably landed and slept here on their way out to the English vessel. See map.

³ "Hundred" in Iceland at this date still meant the "long hundred," 120.

⁴ *Vatursegl*, from the Danish *vaterseil*, a small triangular sail which was sometimes laced on beneath the mizen-boom when running free.

⁵ Probably shark, cod or seal oil. A barrel of oil at this time was worth 190 fish: cp. Aðils, *Einokunarverzlun*, p. 377.

⁶ Tálknafjörð, West Firths.

⁷ The church at Laugardal in Tálknafjörð is an annex of the church at Selárdal in Árnfjörð, but used to have a minister of its own. Síra Guðmund Skúlason was there about 1615, and later held the living of Rafnseyri in Árnfjörð. He died in 1623. Sveinn Nielsson, x, 7, note 2, and xi, 1. [S.B.]

when the master observed us whispering together, he became very angry with the minister, suspecting that I was being dissuaded. The minister had to desist, and we parted so, with his prayer and blessing given upon me and my voyage.

Two days later we sailed thence in the name of the Lord, on the conclusion of a morning hymn, prayer and litany, and away to sea south of Snæfellsjökul¹, and the second morning we saw the Vestmann Islands². Thence we sailed east till we were off the Horn³, and then set our course south-east into the ocean. And when the land had just disappeared from our sight a high south-east gale rose against us. An English crayer⁴ fell in our way and was three weeks in our company, until great storms parted us, so that neither knew where the other was. The captain of this vessel was called Thomas Gray⁵. Every day we had a wind from the south-east and we held on to the south-east of the Faroes, which we could hardly see. Navigators consider that they lie eighty Danish miles⁶ south-east of Iceland. Thence we sailed to Shetland, separated from the Faroes, if my memory serves me right, by forty Danish miles. It is also an island inhabited by poor folk. It was once under Denmark and was mortgaged to the English for a dowry, and it has not been redeemed by Denmark, so that it has belonged to England ever since⁷.

Thence we sailed until we caught a sight of the Orkneys. On the sandbanks or shallows among those islands we saw

¹ Snæfellsjökul, the snow-topped mountain at the end of the long headland called Snæfellsnes on the west coast.

² Cp. above, p. 14, n. 2.

³ Horn, the point off Hornafjörð, towards the eastern end of the south coast. The best-known Horn is in the north-west, and is also called Nord Cap.

⁴ Kræskip: from the English *craye*, *crayer* (Dan. Krejert): a small trading vessel. [S.B.]

⁵ Jón writes Græ.

⁶ A Danish mile is equal to $4\frac{1}{2}$ English miles. The distance from Iceland to the Faroes is slightly over-estimated, that from the Faroes to Shetland slightly under-estimated.

⁷ In 1468 the Orkneys and Shetlands were pledged by Christian I of Denmark for the payment of the dowry of his daughter Margaret, betrothed to James III of Scotland, and as the money was never paid, their connection with the crown of Scotland has been perpetual. *Encycl. Brit.* xx, p. 281. The Icelanders had old connections with these groups of islands, cp. *Orkneyinga Saga*, tr. by Sir G. Dasent (1887-94).

700 herring-boats, and we sailed close by three, which flung fish to us on board. Afterwards we saw Scotland which is almost joined to England but for a little sound which separates them¹. By then we were almost without ale but for one hogshead², and that would have had to be mixed with water if we had had to depend on it much longer. When we went to sea the store of ale on board was reckoned out, and it was then eleven hogsheads; but every evening when the captain had gone to bed they began their drinking.

There was one man on board called Reuben: he was the first I ever saw use tobacco³, which he took every evening, and he became my teacher in that art. The master and all the crew were much attached to me. The first mate and I constantly played backgammon together and we wrestled when our duties permitted it. He was given, like most of them, to scoffing and teasing about Iceland and the customs of its people, for which cause I was often vexed with him. I was not his match in wrestling, for he was most skilful in that and in many other things, but he made no show against me in backgammon. In spite of all we were, however, quite friendly together, and he often sought to persuade me to come to Yarmouth⁴ with him, where his home was, and to lodge

¹ Jón is not much to blame for this error. On the title-page of the Danish *Chart of the Baltic and North Sea* published at Copenhagen in 1568, there is a little map of North Europe clearly showing England and Scotland divided by what looks like a very wide canal. This first Danish *Chart and Pilot-book for Mariners* is so much fuller than the second edition (1608) that it was probably used long after the latter was issued, and it is quite likely that Jón saw the title-page. Earlier South European charts also show such a channel. Cp. J. Knudsen, *Søkartet offuer Øster oc Vester søen*, 1568 (Copenhagen, 1915), p. 232.

² *Hofsetur*, probably the Danish *oxehoved* (ox-head), itself formed from the English *hogshead*. [S.B.]

³ The use of tobacco was not common in Iceland before about 1650. It is not mentioned as an article of import in 1619, nor in a list of imported goods in 1655. Danish authors mention it about 1630. Cp. J. Aðils, *Einokunarverzlun*, pp. 466 ff. The Danish doctor Simon Paulli states in 1635 and 1665 that tobacco makes people insane (N. Jacobsen, in *Dansk Maanedsskrift*, 1866, II, p. 34). Art. 91 of the naval regulations of May 8, 1625, in Christian IV's own handwriting, ordains that the use of tobacco (on shipboard) shall be for ever forbidden and abolished. If it be found on anyone, it shall be thrown overboard, and the offender be called to account. Garde, *Efterretninger*, I, p. 123.

⁴ Icel. Jarmóð.

with him there, but the master warned me against him, and said that he had proved unsatisfactory both to him and others. I had a bunk furthest aft by the boatswain Vincent, who was as a father to me and especially kind. The master asked him to look after me and promised him a reward for it.

Now we must mention that we saw England at the place called Newcastle¹. We were all greatly rejoiced, for we had been seven weeks at sea and had had high and boisterous winds. When we were about three miles from land the guardship of the town² came sailing out as fast as it could straight towards us. This was early in the morning. The captain told us to stand quietly each side of him, with bared heads, and forbade us to smile or utter a single word, and said that he did not dare to do aught but yield to whatever they demanded. It was a huge vessel and handsomely equipped, with cannons and much other war-gear, and it was moreover gilded and splendidly decorated at stem and stern. Their captain came and addressed questions very haughtily to our master: at last they went off, to our great relief.

Somewhat after midday 300 vessels came out of Newcastle, all laden with coal³, which is sought thence by many countries and which fetches a great price. These ships were from various places: some from England, France, Germany, Holland, Norway and Denmark. About three o'clock in the afternoon a gale sprang up from the north-west, so that all vessels ran before it along the coast until they were off Yarmouth: two were lost that evening on the reef outside. Our boom broke in half. This happened on a Saturday in August⁴. The next morning, which was Sunday, our master went to church. At that time there was in Yarmouth only

¹ Icel. Nýkastali.

² A warship stationed to act as a guard and to receive men impressed for service. At this period the guardship was usually the flagship of the admiral commanding on the coast.

³ Jón's statement is supported by the author of *An Impartial Hist. of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne and its vicinity*, pub. 1801, who says (p. 455): "In the year 1615 there appears to have been employed in the coal trade of Newcastle, 400 sail of ships, one half of which supplied London."

⁴ No other reference to this gale or to the wrecks caused by it has been found.

that one church: it was of enormous size with a high tower, in which were many bells of a surpassing sweetness of sound, which could be heard a great way off¹.

After midday we sailed thence southwards along the coast until we came to Harwich², where the master and crew belonged. Then there came out in boats those persons whose business it was to enquire about every ship that sailed into the harbour entrance. These men gave a good welcome to the master and his companions. And when the anchors were dropped and the ship made fast, on the north-west side of the river opposite the town, the master went ashore with many of the men into the town, but I and the ship's mate, William Hundten, were to remain on board with some of the crew. About midday there came a boat from the land north-west of us; in it sat a rich man named Simon Cock, who took us to his home with him, and made a great feast for us. He lived in a village with many other superior folk: there were three churches³ and I was shown the inside of one: I was conducted thither by young girls who invited me to their parents' house. In the evening he sent four men with us through the wood which then lay between the hamlet and the river, and on account of the murderers and highwaymen we were bidden collect stones in our hats. One stone was flung at us in the evening, for it had become very dark. And when we came to the river there was a ferryman all ready. Simon's men returned without hindrance. This Simon Cock was well acquainted with Iceland: I asked him to find me a good place, but he said he would not undertake that, knowing that in England there were people of many kinds, not easy to find out about.

¹ St Nicholas', one of the largest parish churches in England, founded by Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, c. 1123. It has a peal of eight bells. The "high tower" which Jón saw, a lead-covered steeple, 186 ft. high, was taken down in 1803.

² Icel. Harits.

³ Jón is probably alluding to Frimley, on the opposite side of the Orwell from Harwich. It has two churches in one churchyard, St Mary and St Martin, each serving a distinct parish. No village in the neighbourhood of Harwich having three churches can be traced, nor has any reference to Simon Cock been found.

Now we must take up our story where we crossed the river with the ferryman in the evening to reach the town, long after nightfall. We entered the town and went to the master's house; he was not at home when we came, because he was visiting his owners to give them an account of his voyage [and that he had lost the anchor]. His wife received me gladly and wished me welcome in the kindest fashion. When we had sat there a short while, my companion asked the master's lady to permit me to go out with him a short distance; he promised to bring me back immediately. She gave an unwilling consent, and so I went with him. She bade one of her maids accompany us with a light, but when we came to a gateway she went home again. William knocked with the steel hammer which hung on the gate-door¹, and at once a girl came to open the door and to ask who was there. William said who he was, and asked to speak to the master of the house, whom he called Thomas Twidd, the keeper of the inn for gentlefolks and those who were rich and powerful². This Thomas was a wealthy man, but as an old saw says, all virtues do not accompany wealth, and this he was not like to disprove. He had an excellent wife, well conducted according to human verdict, whom he treated ill. She was called Bersheba. Their daughter's name was Temperance: she was pretty and taking, but yet good and gentle-mannered. Into this house William and I entered; and a great feast was made that evening. The landlord would not believe that I was an Icelander, because I had learnt such good English in those seven weeks, that he took me for an Englishman. This William so arranged matters that I engaged myself as his servant that same evening, altogether contrary to my wish. This he did because he could not get me to Yarmouth with him, and to spite that worthy man Isaac Brommet, against whom he always harboured a grudge, because he considered

¹ Door-knockers, such as those now in use, were not usual in England until the 18th century.

² The inn, so the Town Clerk of Harwich informs me, was probably "The Three Cups," but no mention of Thomas Twidd appears in the church registers of the time, nor has any innkeeper bearing a name resembling Twidd been discovered.

himself too good to be his mate, rogue as he was at bottom. I took my night's rest in that house, being treated with surpassing kindness, and shown to my bed by Thomas. He took over all my goods for safe keeping: they were five *vættir* of fish¹ from the spring catch; two full chests and two lengths of homespun—I had given Isaac the other, for those ten dollars which I owed him for the voyage; also a little train-oil, what was left of the full barrel which was spilt, as has been told above.

In the morning William and I went back to Isaac and told him and his wife how matters stood. He was very angry with William, and declared he should pay for this if he could manage it, for he said he was most loath to see me take a place there on account of Thomas Twidd's hardness, cheating and evil ways, but he comforted himself with the thought of the wife's virtues.

He employed three lads, and I was to take the place of one of them at Michaelmas, but till then I was to provide for myself. I took a journey to Newcastle for wages, four dollars, and also on his account, with intent to learn the way there, if he should wish to send me there on his service. We sailed there in four days. The captain's name was Thomas Gray², and we had a favouring wind.

¹ A *vætt* was 80 lbs., reckoned as 40 cod-fish. Cp. Aðils, *op. cit.* pp. 370 and 423.

² See n. 5, p. 16 *supra*.

CHAPTER III

A TOWER stands above high-water-mark¹, where the ships are steered into the river-mouth: in this tower lights burn at night for the guidance of those ships which are to enter, for outside are sandbanks and a narrow entrance, so narrow that a man could throw things ashore on either side if he wished. Thence it is five miles² up to the town Newcastle, a fair town and well-situated. It contains three churches³ and one magnificent bridge right across the river, with vaulted archways through which one may pass inland⁴. Through these arches come great barges from up above with coal for the ships which sail thither for it, as I mentioned before. There we remained three weeks, and I was offered a place in the service of a kindly and wealthy widow, called Johanna; but I told her how matters stood, that I had promised myself to another ere this, and she bore me no grudge for my refusal. There were also several excellent *gentilmenn*, as they are there called, who cordially offered me places in their service.

Three days later we sailed from Newcastle in fair weather and home to Harwich. Later in the evening we reached the town and landed soon after. Folk were mostly abed in the town, and for that reason the captain Thomas Gray proposed to me that I should go home with him, but I would not accept his invitation, for I did not wish it to be said to my dishonour that I neglected my household; therefore I went to the door and knocked on it somewhat softly with the hammer. The serving-maid came at once and opened the door, for she had not yet gone to rest, but was washing up the table silver and pewter in the kitchen. I took some food,

¹ Probably Tynemouth Castle is meant.

² Really eight miles.

³ There were four mediaeval churches in Newcastle at this date, St Nicholas', St John's, St Andrew's and All Hallows'.

⁴ The bridge that Jón saw was built c. 1250 and destroyed by a flood in 1771.

and then asked her for the key of the outhouse in which my goods were stored; she thereupon accompanied me there with a light and at once I discovered my boxes in disorder and most of their contents stolen, not much short of thirty dollars' worth. I was sick at heart as anyone can guess who imagines such an ugly affair or unhappy chance occurring to a stranger as I was. That night I slept uncommonly little, but went up, nevertheless, to the bedroom: there stood my bed with green curtains round it.

Early in the morning I dressed myself and sought out Twidd's excellent wife, Bersheba, who was the daughter of the mayor of Ipswich¹ and came of an Ipswich stock. Their daughter Temperance was also kindly and resembled her mother. I told them down-heartedly what had befallen me, whereat they grieved sorely with tears, and advised me to tell the master, Thomas Twidd, and see what he said or answered thereto. This morning, as frequently, there had come to him to take *brekfast* two noblemen, who were sitting with him in the upstairs parlour. Thither I went and began to complain to him of my trials, whereto he listened impatiently and became violent and passionate; seizing a plate and flinging it at me, and bidding his boy strike me, which he also set about doing. We struggled and swayed about on the floor until we fell. Then the gentlefolks seized Thomas, who strove to free the boy, and there was a great uproar in the parlour. They blamed him severely for acting so towards a stranger: he made out it was my fault for demanding from him my goods which he had received from me in full charge for safe-keeping, when I took service with him. And as I got no better response from him than has been said, I withdrew my promise to him in their hearing, since he had previously broken his. In this they both concurred. They were both gentlefolk of Ipswich, and the elder of them offered to take me into his service for seven years, and offered me a third of his property if he took a fancy to me, for he had no near

¹ Icel. Ipsits. According to Wooderspoon's *Annalls of Ipswicke*, the Bailiffs who served in 1615-16 were Thomas Sicklemore and Thomas Johnson.

heirs. But because things had gone with me as I have just described and I had no mind to stay long in the country, I refused this offer, which he greatly regretted, for he said I had a good appearance. He bought from me 600 fish for 25 English dollars¹ and also that train-oil which remained to me.

Thomas Twidd had a worthy brother, called Michael Twidd; he was admiral of the fleet of vessels which plied for wine to Spain. He lived in Harwich, but was not at home when this affair took place. His brother's wife Bersheba urgently offered me service with her brother-in-law Michael Twidd; I was in two minds about it, for I feared treachery from Thomas, because he bore a grudge against me. When Michael returned, he sent for me with Bersheba's advice: I therefore entered his service and had my poor goods moved to his house. But two days after it was learnt in Harwich that two ships belonging to the King of Denmark, Christian the Fourth, had come to London with gifts to King James². And when I heard that, my mind was quickly made up to ask Michael Twidd for permission to depart, which he granted me through the intercession and kindly sympathy of Bersheba.

Two days later she and her daughter accompanied me to the shore to enquire about a passage to London: she learnt that a captain named William Gray³ intended to sail for London within three days: she promptly secured a passage for me with him and paid for it herself. She and her daughter gave me many useful things, to the value of nearly fifteen dollars, and thus I parted from them in love and good friendship. She had a brother in London, cook to a great lord: she sent a letter by me to take me into his lodgings until I should meet the Danes who had come thither as aforesaid.

Thereupon we started and got a fair wind south to London, and so far as I remember it would be forty or fifty miles.

¹ *Dalir*.

² In *State Papers, Foreign, Denmark* (at the Public Record Office), there is an introductory letter from Christian IV, under date 18 August, 1615 (vol. v. f. 141), stating that he is sending Adam Bülow, the master of his private stables, to England with horses and a complimentary letter to James I.

³ See n. 5, p. 16 *supra*.

First we came to the place called Gravesend, which lies at the estuary or mouth of the river that runs up to London. Off Gravesend, as we were beating up to the entrance, I lost a good hat which the sail struck overboard off my head.

At the quay of the town lay fifty ferry-boats, and an equal number at London Bridge. There, with another man, a Dutchman called Daniel, I hired a boat up to London, and we arrived there late in the day. The ferryman who conveyed us told me all the names of localities on both sides of the river, and it is a fair sight on either bank: there are rural districts and villages, and one town, called Queenborough¹.

Many men can be seen at work out of doors each at their craft or trade; some ploughing or sowing, others carpentering, some employed with grindstones or other stone-cutting, others building boats, smacks and ships and other necessary matters. We met but few ships, and these blew their trumpets. When we came half-way, we saw the great tower of St Paul's², the cathedral of London, which is to look upon like the rounded summit of a mountain, and other towers, both of the two castles situated in London³, and of churches within the city, which exceed 300 in number⁴. The distance to the city is fifteen miles. The ferrymen's boats are finely painted and built and well equipped. In their after part are two bent spars over which an awning is spread whenever dew falls, so that the passengers do not get wet; under the shelter they are able to have good cheer both of food and drink. In the part where the river flows through the city many ships, both large and small, are anchored, and at the quays lie praams⁵ on which corn and malt, and various other wares are conveyed to and fro. In these corn-praams the doves find their nightly shelter and habitation. On the river a few swans float: these

¹ Qvinsborg. Jón's memory is at fault if he means that Queenborough was higher up the river than Gravesend (Graftsund).

² The steeple of Old St Paul's had been destroyed by lightning in 1561. Peter Mundy (*Travels*, ed. Temple, III, 16) gives the height of the "Stone work" of the tower left standing as 260 ft.

³ Baynard's Castle, Blackfriars, and the Tower.

⁴ This is an exaggeration. According to Stow, the churches, both within and without the City walls, in his time, numbered 123.

⁵ Praam or pram (Dutch *praam*), a flat-bottomed boat or lighter.

are called the King's birds¹, and any man who should shoot them or kill them by other means would forfeit his life.

Now I resume my story again at the point where we came late up to the city. Then we could hear the playing of trumpets, drums, pipes and every kind of musical instrument and other sounds of the sort: the sound of cocks, men, cattle, bells, on which last tuneful hymns were rung in the evening after the curfew bells. The ferryman accompanied me to the cook, to whom I had letters from the town of Harwich; Daniel went with me, and asked me to secure him a room with me in this family. We first met the wife of the cook, and she led me straight to him, where he slept sitting on a chair, matters being so arranged that the spits turned the meat round of themselves². She roused him from his sleep, but he vouchsafed no help to me until he had read the letter from his sister Bersheba: then he at once shook my hand, and offered me a place with him, a room and my food as long as I should remain in London.

This man was very old, but his lady was young. They had no children except for one girl, who was seven years old and most beautifully brought up, trained, and tastefully dressed. This was her daily custom when she had quit her bed, she opened the door of the parlour and fell on her knees on the threshold and bade her parents and all present a good day, wishing them and the household God's protection and care: afterwards she arranged her toilet before the mirror: then she sat down and read her catechism, swept the house and sat down to her sewing. This family treated me well and surpassed themselves every day in kindness. Daniel was given a room there for nearly a month at my plea; he bore me a grudge because they showed more regard for me than for him. One Sunday morning he asked the lady to arrange

¹ The swan was regarded as a "bird royal" and no subject could possess one without a special licence from the Crown. The King's Swans, as well as those of the Company of Dyers and Vintners, are still maintained on the Thames.

² If Jón's memory has not failed him, this appears to be a very early instance of the use of a self-turning spit. At this period the care of the spit was usually entrusted either to the "cook's knave" or to a "turnspit" dog.

matters so for him that I should, on her prayer, lend him some clothes for church, for he said he wanted to go to the sacrament. I believed this and his many flattering speeches, and lent him a complete suit from top to toe, and put a prayer-book into his hand, and once he had gone I never saw him again, and the suit was certainly worth twenty dollars. This was a great grief to the pious couple. Three wealthy men who lived in London promised to have him found and hanged, for they were angry at my mischance.

I remained in the said room for nine weeks, free of all charge. One day, when opportunity offered, I met three men in a certain house; they were worthy men of the following of the Danes. One of them was called Johan Mortensen; he knew a little Icelandic, for he said he had been here three years, left in charge of his ship-owner's goods: he welcomed me warmly at once and said he would speak highly of me to the noblemen, to wit the King of Denmark's embassy¹, which promise he well kept. I therefore parted in love and friendship from that couple, and they wished me prosperity and happiness from God, both then and later. Many rich men in London offered me service with them, but that never fell in with my fancy, so greatly did I desire to be in Denmark or at home.

Before I tell finally of my departure thence, I should wish to have touched in the briefest fashion, upon London and the Bridge of London and other things. London is in three parts: different parts of the town are separated by large market-places and playing-fields and on these all kinds of games are played. Within and without the gates are 360 churches, large and small, amongst which are 70 chief churches². St Paul's church which is also the cathedral, is the largest. London contains two castles³. On the side which turns to the river the town is built in such a manner that the flood-tide reaches up quite close to the level of the town, so high, that those who fetch water from the houses which stand on the water's brim need not to step down more than three steps. At the

¹ See p. 24.

² See note 4 on p. 25.

³ See note 3 on p. 25.

time of the lowest tides a man can go far in under the city on the mud, and beneath it there stand innumerable posts, beams and pillars which support that part of the town.

London Bridge is built in such a fashion that the strong foundation at the very bottom is of huge hewn rocks nearly all across the width of the river: the thickness or width of the bridge I cannot tell, as a great part of the town is built on it: on it stand three of the largest chief churches, and, if I am not mistaken, several smaller¹. I was told at the time that there were 700 goldsmiths in that part of the town which stands on the bridge. In the floor of every eating-house on the bridge is a square trap-door over the hole through which the water for household purposes is daily drawn up, and when there is fish in the river they are caught with lines and drawn up through the trap-door, and so brought living to the kitchen². Under the bridge are nine or ten arches³ or doorways, which run right through, and down which the river runs its course: there is a very strong current against these bridge-piers or arched doorways. Enormous anchors have been built into the stonework. Their rings hang out from the wall, and can be caught with boat-hooks by those who pass through in smacks, praams, ships and boats bearing every kind of merchandise to and fro. Let these few words suffice for the bridge.

At that time a little village lay to the south-east on the river bank⁴, straight across from and opposite to the city: at low tides the largest vessels lie aground there, and take no damage from the mud.

I was told that the city is nine English miles round, which

¹ Here again Jón's memory plays him false. A two-storied chapel dedicated to St Thomas à Becket stood on the centre arch of the bridge, but no other church. Jón is probably thinking of the churches of St Magnus and St Olave at each end of the bridge, but at some little distance from it.

² It is highly probable that the dwellers on London Bridge fished from doors or windows in their houses, but the story of the "square trap-doors" is either due to a misconception by Jón of what was told him or to a practical joker playing on his credulity.

³ Old London Bridge, founded in 1176, had nineteen arches. See *A Professional Survey of the Old and New London Bridges*, 1831.

⁴ Greenwich appears to be meant.

is more than half a "day's journey" in Iceland¹. There are long streets running up into the city, with handsome rows of houses on each side; and if people go far into the city, they need to be directed back to the shore, for which reason compasses² are placed in the streets at frequent intervals, and women as well as men are quick to give directions therefrom, when bidden, or at need.

¹ Day's journey: *thingmanna leið*. Every person who had to be present at the Althing (Parliament) received his travelling expenses calculated on the number of days he had to travel (on horseback): hence, *thingmanna leið*, thingman's journey; about 21 English miles.

² Jón seems to be alluding to finger-posts, but the earliest instance of the use of such directing signs in the *New Eng. Dict.* is 1773.

CHAPTER IV

IN WHICH IS RELATED THE OCCURRENCES OF THAT TIME IN WHICH I WAS IN LONDON AND THE DANES MADE THEIR STAY THERE—HOW FIVE OF THE COUNCIL THOUGHT TO BETRAY KING JAMES VI IN ENGLAND

ONE evening near sunset in October, as King James was coming up from Gravesend in one of the boats called "King's boats" (of which there are eighteen, all ten- or twelve-oared), and about 200 men with him, gunpowder mines had been laid on the quay, where the King's boat was to be steered to the shore, and where he usually landed. But a woman who sold apples on the shore gave the King a hint, so that he was delivered from that treachery by God's help. Three of the traitors were caught, but two went free so long as we stayed there. The King summoned a great meeting below the Tower of London on a wide and level plain: an astounding number of people gathered there. And the conspiracy having been enquired into, and the sentence pronounced, the traitors were broken on the wheel, limb by limb¹; and until this was done we were obliged to remain in London, so that the upshot of the affair and its course might be sent in a missive to the King of Denmark².

Now we must relate what happened in this same summer of 1615. Two of the Danish King's ships, by name *Victor* and

¹ No confirmation of this conspiracy has come to light, nor is there any record of the breaking of criminals on the wheel in London at this period. Jón was in England at the time of the trial of Lord Somerset and his wife for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and his story seems to be a confused recollection of this event and of the details of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, of which no doubt he heard many versions.

² There is no mention of any conspiracy in the letter dated Oct. 26, 1615, which James I wrote to Christian IV "by reason of the return to Denmark of Adam Bulouu." (Macray, *Appendix to 46th Report of Deputy-Keeper of Public Records*, 1855, Second Report, p. 12.)

Jupiter, captured a notorious pirate off the coast of Russia, in the White Sea¹, at the place called Archangel: the name of the pirate was Captain Mandaus; he had been engaged in piracy for fifteen years, and at the time of this occurrence had planned to lie in wait for a Dutch ship, which came through Veigat Straits and had sailed from the East Indies², but he did not succeed, for he himself was lost first. Mandaus had been the companion of that pirate who was killed in the same year at Vatneyri³, and who had sworn to lay Iceland waste. There were only five days between the deaths of these comrades. Captain Mandaus was hanged on a swing-gallows⁴ outside the Eastern Gate of Copenhagen, together with his second in command and his mate. He had five brothers in England who were all artizans.

Now let us return to that point in our tale where I had been one day with the Danes on the ship which was called *St Peter*, the captain being Christian Ross. After midday on Thursday there came to our ship one of those five brothers of Mandaus, an anchor-smith and a rich man, Reuben by name. He asked Christian Ross whether he could not tell him some news of his brother, whom the Danish King's ships had captured off Russia. Christian declared he could do that, and told him that his brother was hanging on a swing-gallows outside the east gate of Copenhagen. The news was a great shock to Reuben, who turned very pale, made his bow and left the ship. Three days afterwards a message came from King James at the Castle to our commander, whose name was Adam Bülow, and who was one of the greatest nobles of

¹ For a fuller account of this episode see below, ch. xvii.

² Kara Straits. No Dutch ships had used a passage north of Russia and Siberia at this date.

³ Espóln, *Annals*, under the year 1615: "Then pirates came in the summer to Patreksfjörð and intended to plunder in the West Firths: they had compelled some Englishmen to accompany them, but when they landed and the pirates planned to plunder the Danes at Vatneyri (the trading-station) the English fell upon them and slew many, and took the two leaders and went away thereafter." [Quoted by S.B.]

⁴ Swing-gallows (Icelandic *vippa*, Dan. *vippe*), in which the criminal was swung into the air in such a manner that his arms were wrenched out of joint as he tightened the rope, it being fastened round his arms. [R.C.]

Denmark¹, that these five brothers of Mandaus intended to revenge themselves on us and to send out three ships of war for our destruction, and their preparations were much talked of in the town. The King sent us eighty muskets, which we call match-locks, from the Castle, together with other useful weapons against these enemies.

And when Adam Bülow had received leave to depart, we sailed slowly out of the harbour during the night down to Gravesend.

A little way below the city of London, in a closed harbour, within barriers, lay King James' ships of war, huge and majestic to look upon. And when we reached Gravesend we made but a short stay. Off the town lay two of the King's large war-ships.

Now I must tell how, when I first took my passage with the Danes, and took service with the aforesaid nobleman, Adam Bülow, I received honourable accommodation with two other excellent men in the vessel *St Peter*. One of these was Magnus, of a Norwegian family, the Danish King's groom, a good and worthy man; the other, Jacob Petersen who had lived in London seven years in order to learn the weaving of gold and silver threads and so forth, which they call *passementerie*². These two men were friendly and agreeable to me, as indeed were all that ship's crew.

¹ Adam Bülow (d. 1619) was a member of an ancient noble family of Mecklenburg. His ancestor Gottfried Bülow, who lived in the 13th century, is the ancestor of all the eight branches of the von Bülow family. Adam and his brother Joachim, who both came to Denmark as young men, belonged to the Wedendorff branch of the family, but members of the Plüschkow branch also settled in Denmark later. Adam, who in 1611 became Marshal to Christian IV, and who taught the King's sons to ride, was sent in 1615 and 1616 to take presents of valuable horses to James I, Christian IV's brother-in-law. Cp. Wegener, *Hist. Efterretn. om Abrahamstrup*, p. 119.

² The *passementerie*-makers in Copenhagen were German, and settled there in Frederik II's reign (1559-88). Cp. Carl Bruun, *Kjøbenhavn*, Deel 1, p. 416.



MAP

WIJK'S VIEW OF COPENHAGEN IN 1611. From the collection of the National Museum, Copenhagen

a. Arsenal. b. Provision Store. c. Castle. d. Blue Tower of Castle. e. Town Hall. f. Cathedral Church of Our Lady. g. Church of St Peter. h. Church of the Holy Ghost. i. High Bridge. j. Rosenborg Castle. k. Church of St Clara (the Old Mint). l. Church of St Nichola



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a. Arsenal. b. Provision Store. c. Castle. d. Blue Tower of Castle. e. Town Hall. f. Cathedral Church of Our Lady. g. Church of St Peter. h. Church of the Holy Ghost. i. High Bridge. j. Rosenborg Castle. k. Church of St Clara (the Old Mint). l. Church of St Nicholas.

CHAPTER V

AND as we have already said, our little stay ended, we laid our course out from Gravesend and into the ocean to the Skaw of Jutland. There a great gale sprang up from the east, but by God's grace the vessel on which I was, gained shelter in Norway in the fjord called Flekkefjord¹. The other vessel, however, called *Jonah*, with the nobleman on board, made a more southerly harbour in Norway, and returned to Denmark a fortnight earlier than we did.

Adam Bülow started off at once to see the King, who was then spending the whole winter in Jutland² with his court. I did not see this Adam Bülow again for three years, but Magnus, whom I spoke of before, took me in, and desired that I should serve in the King's stable and become his horse-breaker and under-groom, to which I willingly consented.

The King's stables were situated at that time close to Højbro in Copenhagen³, on the Castle side of the Gatehouse⁴. In the house contiguous to the Gatehouse dwelt a worthy elderly man, by name Christian. His wife was named Ellen; she was younger than her husband. In this house, with this God-fearing couple, Magnus had his lodging, and in his native goodness he took me to lodge there and placed me in his own bed by his side, providing me with excellent board at their table, exactly as himself. I had no services to perform except to go with him twice a day to curry and dress down the horses and attend to them carefully; take them out twice a day for

¹ Flekkefjord, in Lister og Mandals Amt, South Norway.

² For this curious slip of the memory on Jón's part see Introd. It was in the winter of 1616-17 that the King was in Jutland, and held his court (from Dec. 22 to Feb. 26) at Skanderborg Castle. In Dec. 1615 he was either at Copenhagen or at Frederiksborg, only a few miles out of the town, and he remained in Sjælland all the winter except from Jan. 16 to Feb. 12 when he crossed the Sound to visit his Swedish provinces.

³ The High Bridge, connecting the island on which the Castle stood with the town. See view of Copenhagen.

⁴ The Gatehouse was a lath and plaster building, two stories high. Cp. Liisberg, *København*, p. 185. There was a similar building on the Castle side of the other bridge. (See view of Copenhagen.)

water and exercise, and beat the drum for them¹. Magnus had two other servants, who swept the stable daily. My service in the stable did not last long, not more than six weeks; for it so happened that a summons came to Magnus from His Majesty, bidding him travel to the King with all speed. But when Magnus was called on this journey, he asked the couple in his lodging to let me have everything I needed.

After this Magnus travelled from Copenhagen all the way to Jutland; the King at that time held his court in Jutland with eighty courtiers². It so happened one evening, as Magnus was going home from the Castle to his lodging and sleeping-place, that, being a stranger in the town, he went to a wrong door, within which one of the King's guards was seated, and as he knocked repeatedly at the door, the guard flew into a rage, rushed to the door with his halberd and killed him³, for which deed he suffered the loss of his head.

When this news reached Copenhagen and my lodgings, I was filled with grief and distress, and many mourned for Magnus who was much liked. I was now orphaned and in straits. One day Ellen spoke to me and asked if I had any money to pay for my board and lodging, but I had nothing to pay with. In her kindness, the woman went out one day to seek to find me some work, but she could secure nothing, as it was now so near Christmas that everyone had done their hiring⁴.

One day as I went down to the quays to amuse myself, a young man named Ambrosius was standing there among the other people. He asked me about my family, and my name, and what country I came from, to all of which I re-

¹ It was part of the usual training for horses in those days, in order to accustom them to noise, to beat drums in the stables immediately before food-time. [R.C.]

² See note 2 to p. 33 above.

³ It seems to have been regarded as provocation by those within if anyone knocked on the door with his rapier: cp. Liisberg, *København*, p. 147. Possibly this may be the explanation of the guard's violence.

⁴ The "eighth day of Yule," i.e. New Year's Day, was the date on which serving-folk actually changed masters. Cp. Troels Lund, *Dagligt Liv*, vii, pp. 88 f.

plied most fully. This man knew me and my brother Halldór, and took me home to his lodging, which was owned by his brother-in-law and sister, worthy people and well known in the city. The brother-in-law was called Hans Jacobssen; he was the head cellarer at Bremerholm¹. He invited me there and offered to put my name down for a certain wage, but I declined altogether, because I was at that time minded to avoid the King's service, though I came to that in the end. Afterwards he went up to the Castle to find the steward of the King's plate, who has the daily care of all the royal plate for the table, and sought to find me a place under him. The steward promised to give him an answer the following morning. But while Hans was up at the Castle I was urged by a man called Rasmus, a pewterer, to enter the King's service as an artilleryman. He spoke well of the life and of the chiefs of the arsenal, especially of Master Hans², who was at that time a Master of the Arsenal and who shared the chief authority over the artillerymen together with the Chief Master of the Arsenal. This was a nobleman called Adolphus Fridericus Grabow³, who was then newly come from Holstein and was standing near, while Rasmus and I were discussing the matter. And so it happened that because of his great

¹ No cellarers are mentioned by Lind in his book *Kristian IV og hans Mænd paa Bremerholm*. Bremerholm was the naval ship-building yard: see view of Copenhagen.

² His real name was Hans Kost, and he was a Master of the Arsenal from 1602 to 1617. He was followed by Christoffer Schwenke the Elder, 1618-44 (*Hist. Medd. om København*, vii, p. 232).

³ Adolph Frederik Grabow came from Wutike or Watike "in the Mark," and was therefore not of Holstein but of the Pomeranian-Mecklenburg nobility. We first hear of him in 1614, when he is appointed a Master of the Arsenal (Sjæll. Tegn, 89, in the Rigsarchiv), a post which in general seems to have been held by non-nobles, and even by men risen from the ranks (Blom, *Kr. IV's Artilleri*, pp. 22, 24). But he does not appear in any of the Arsenal records until 1618, when the King writes that "Graabo" is to be negotiated with to take on the Arsenal again, and be responsible for the accounts (Blom, p. 26). In the same year he is made Chief Master (Øverste Arkelimester). Several of his kinsfolk seem to have come to Denmark: Hans (b. 1549, d. 1626) in 1582 had a son Joachim who went to Spitzbergen in 1619 on the *Gabriel*, see below, pp. 149 f. There is also another relative, sometimes erroneously called Joachim's brother, Kønne Joachim Grabow. All these seem to have visited Wutike at times. Krarup, in *Pers. Hist. Tidsskr.* II R., 5 Bd (Cop. 1890), pp. 182 ff., and *Dansk Adels Kalender*, 1894, p. 153.

importunity, I promised to enter the King's service in the hearing of the Chief Master Grabow with whom I shook hands upon it. He ordered the said Rasmus, who was one of the King's artillerymen, to conduct me into the town to the house of one Jón Halldórsson, an Iclander from Eyjafjörð¹, and also an artilleryman, and he promised payment for the board this man should grant me, until I should be entered into the service of His Majesty. I continued to lodge with him for three years, and I had in him a good and faithful friend and comrade in all our dealings, secret or open, until the day of his death. Such may be reckoned as a good gift from the Lord, especially in foreign parts.

Three weeks after these happenings I was entered with twenty-five others in the regiment. But according to regulations and to the orders of His Majesty, it was lacking about 350 men of its full strength². Then for the first time I swore

¹ Eyjafjörð, on north coast of Iceland.

² It is not known what the full strength was. Jón gives the total number of the artillerymen at the Arsenal as about 350. This is in peace-time, 1621. Cp. p. 179 *infra*. In 1627, in war-time, it appears that there were 433 artillerymen, but that 863 were needed if there was to be one for each gun in the fleet besides those needed for Kronborg and Copenhagen (Blom, *Kristian IV's Artilleri*, p. 20). As can be seen from Jón's own experiences, the artillerymen of the fleet, and of Kronborg and Copenhagen formed one corps, who seem to have been directly under the King. Blom (*loc. cit.*) regards it as improbable that there were as many as 433 in permanent service, but he is assuming that there are two or three times that number of persons in the service, for he and other authorities regard every artilleryman (*bøsseskytter*) as really a master-gunner (*Bøssimester*, mod. Dan. *Konstabel*) with men under them to do the rough work. But Jón's account of his own position as mate to a master-gunner (pp. 145, 151, 211 *infra*) shows that these subordinates were themselves called artillerymen. Jón at least never seems to have attained the status of master-gunner during his service in Europe. There are many indications that Christian IV found it difficult to supply his needs in artillerymen, notably an order to the Governor of Baahus Castle that a certain prisoner shall be pardoned on condition that he pledge himself to be an artilleryman for life (Blom, *op. cit.* p. 21). We hear of artillerymen serving up to forty-two years, and Jón's account (p. 220 *infra*) suggests that it was difficult to withdraw from the service, though an ordinance of July 4, 1616, states that henceforward artillerymen need only serve five years, instead of "a long time, indeed sometimes their whole life." The work cannot have been very heavy, for we find a number of artillerymen, some of them identifiable with Jón's comrades, engaged in various trades in the town, chiefly selling ale (O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Diplomatarium*, v, pp. 62 ff. and elsewhere). In 1581 the corps received special uniforms of yellow and red, the colours of

Von Vnderweisung des Geschützes/ den Büchsenmeistern zusehend.

Frem/ Es werden hinnach einem yden dieser Kunst vnwissend / zu Vnderweisung zwölff Fragen gahan: Welcher dieselben Fragen vnd Antvort hört/ lernt vnd behelt/ der kan sich selber darnach weiter Vnderrichten/ vnd alles so in diesen Büchlen gemelt/ zu nutz bringen. Vnd damit er Vnderweist vnd gelernt wirdt/ was diese Kunst vermag vnd in jr habe/ Ist des Meisters Frage.



M

D

DANISH ARTILLERYMEN IN THE REIGN OF FREDERIK II

A page from the military work by Joachim Arentsehe, printed at Copenhagen in 1578

Von Vnderweisung des Ge- schützes/den Büchsenmeistern zuständig.

Frem/ Es werden hinnach einem jden die-
ser Kunst vnwissend / zu Vnderweisung zwölff Fra-
gen gethan: Welcher dieselben Fragen vnd Antwort
hört/ lernt vnd befehlt/ der kan sich selber darnach weiter
Vnderrichten/ vnd alles so in diesem Büchlein gemeint/
zu nutz bringen. Vnd damit er Vnderweist vnd gelernt wirdt/ was
diese Kunst vermag vnd in jr habe/ Ist des Meisters Frage.



Mij

Die

DANISH ARTILLERYMEN IN THE REIGN OF FREDERIK II

A page from the military work by Joachim Arentsehe, printed at Copenhagen in 1578

homage and fidelity to His Majesty, together with all the troop gathered together there. The King was not present on that occasion, but things are so ordered that when the oaths are taken a table is set down within a palisade in the Arsenal¹, the salt and bread placed on it, which signifies Christ and His Word, and this is called swearing on bread and salt².

Six weeks later I was put to hold watch outside the Arsenal, but till then I had a free pass, liberty of movement, and leave to go into the town; and this was special to me and not granted to those who entered at the same time as I. Master Hans, Master of the Arsenal, was as markedly kind and indulgent to me as if I had been his own son. For this reason the affection and love of other persons was directed on me, and I was not the least popular of all my peers and comrades, wherein God's grace and untold patience proved itself, for my comfort and furtherance while I was poor and a stranger.

The most of my countrymen who were come to Copenhagen proved kind to me and useful at need, faithful and without guile. Just at the time of my arrival Thorlák Thorkelsson³

the House of Oldenburg to which the Danish King belonged. They were probably the first uniforms of mercenaries in Denmark (E. Madsen, *Danmarks Hærvæsen*, p. 434, note 2).

¹ Christian IV's new Arsenal, built to the south of the Castle, was finished in 1604. See view of Copenhagen. It is 520 ft. long and 77½ ft. wide, and was built of red brick with a lead roof. It was much damaged by fire in 1647, but was restored and is still standing. Cp. *Hist. Tidskr.* vi R., Bd. 1 (1887-8), pp. 549 ff., and *Medd. om København*, III (1911), pp. 161 ff.

² This is the earliest Danish reference (except perhaps in ballads) to an oath on bread and salt, and it is the more remarkable as all other references, from the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, show that to swear on bread and salt was regarded as a grave ecclesiastical offence, punishable by public penance. It is even called perjury. In all these later cases the oath is used by a person suspected of theft, to clear himself (cp. *Ugeblad f. d. danske Folkekirke*, 1865, p. 30 and *Dania*, VII, 1901, pp. 94 f. In Elizabethan English "to take bread and salt" = to pledge oneself: cp. N.E.D. s.v. *bread*, 2d.). In the 16th century, at any rate, each artilleryman swore his oath of fealty by the gun entrusted to his charge, and in the army generally, as in civil custom, the oath was taken by each individual raising three fingers of his right hand (Madsen, *Hærvæsen*, pp. 9, 39).

³ Thorlák was the son of Thorkell Gamlason, steward at Hólar, seat of the Northern Bishopric. In 1617 he obtained the permission of the University Court to start a private school in Copenhagen. In 1621 he became pastor of Hvidovre in Sjælland, being the first Iclander after the Reformation to be granted a living in Denmark, but he died within six months (1622). [R.C.]

had come from Hólar in the North of Iceland—he became a minister later and was called to the parish of Orupp, three leagues from Copenhagen, yet never was at work there, for he died in Copenhagen, a dear and faithful friend to me. Moreover Jón Gissursson, a worthy man, was also come thither; he was afterwards a schoolmaster in Skálholt and at Hólar, and after that a minister and incumbent at Múlastað in the north¹. Also Finn Böðvarsson² from Borgarfjörð in the southern quarter, my good and worthy friend, who fell asleep in the Lord in Copenhagen. Also Guðmund Jónsson of Hitárdal³, a good and worthy man, who like the aforesaid showed me great honour, affection and benevolence. He also died in Copenhagen, and all these three students of the University were given honourable burial. I also met there Páll Sveinsson⁴, a contemporary of these others, he was a barber and a good surgeon, a worthy man, always my good friend. He came from Holt in Önundarfjörð, and, like the others died in Copenhagen and was honourably buried in the garden (as it is called) of the Church of the Holy Ghost, and into this man's grave I cast the earth, together with six other comely young men, hired for the task⁵.

¹ For his activities as schoolmaster, cp. *Tímarit*, xiv. 1893, p. 53. He held the living of Múli in Aðalreykjadal in North-east Iceland from 1633 to 1660, and was rural dean from 1636 to 1660. [S.B.]

² Son of Böðvar, pastor of Reykholt and rural dean, from whom the Finsen family is descended in direct male line [S.B.]. Espólm says of Finn: "He was an able man in most ways; he died abroad, and it is said that Dean Böðvar was never the same man thereafter."

³ Son of Síra Jón Guðmundsson, rural dean, of Hitárdal [in West Iceland], and Guðríð daughter of Gísli Thórðarson the lawman. [S.B.]

⁴ Son of Síra Sveinn Símonarson (d. 1644) of Holt in Önundarfjörð [in the West Firths], and half-brother on his mother's side of Bishop Brynjólf Sveinsson. [S.B.]

⁵ The reference to their appearance, and the custom of the time, suggest that Jón and his fellows were really coffin-bearers. Except during the plague of 1619–20 the coffin-bearers would hardly have filled in the grave. In the early years of the 17th century the dead were still borne to the grave by persons of their own standing (commonly members of their guild), and payments were made to these according to the means of the bereaved family—often one rixdollar to each. Besides the payment, the coffin-bearers partook of the funeral feast, at which wine was so liberally served that it occasionally happened that when the coffin-bearers reached the church they had lost the coffin. In 1624 Christian IV characterized the proceedings as "heathen swilling to the honour of the dead." Cp. Troels Lund, *Dagligt Liv*, xiv, pp. 194 f., and *Fra Arkiv og Museum*, iv, pp. 431 ff.

CHAPTER VI

IN WHICH ARE RELATED THE CHIEF OCCURRENCES OF THE TIME WHEN I FIRST CAME TO COPENHAGEN, WITH OTHER MATTERS WHICH ARE TOUCHED UPON

A SHORT time after I was entered on the King's books and had sworn the oath, it happened one morning early that I was crossing the iron grating by the entrance to the churchyard of the cathedral, which is called Our Lady's Church (that is to say, the Church of the Blessed Virgin), to look for the student Thorlák Thorkelsson. A man and a woman went just ahead of me to the well there situate¹, to fetch water. And when they looked into the well, they gave a loud scream, and cried out that a dead girl-baby was floating in the well². I hastened thither and saw what had happened. Such a singular incident was soon bruited over the town, and various enquiries made, and in that parish 500 servant girls were had up to the town-hall that morning, and examined to see if there were milk in their breasts, but it was not so with any of them. And because of this occurrence the town was full of lamentation and weeping, and in the churches prayers were made to God that the thing might be made plain, which however did not conclusively happen, except in so far as conjectures were made that it came from the house of a very learned person M. Hr. M. Soon afterwards the talk about it ceased, until three years had passed, when it so happened that two misshapen children were brought into the world in the street known as Vognmandsstræde³, and in the funeral

¹ Every churchyard had its well, usually with a mud bottom. The Professors of this parish were the first citizens to supply themselves with water from outside the town (in 1626). O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* iv, pp. 131, 139.

² It is stated by O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* iv, p. 138, that this was not an infrequent occurrence. [R.C.]

³ Vognmandsstræde (Drivers' Street), at this time a fairly recent street, ran northwards from Gammel Mønt. See map of Copenhagen.

oration preached over them by the minister Master Menelaus¹ various abuses were mentioned, which seemed to him to be becoming more frequent and to be on the increase in the town. Amongst other matters he mentioned this infant, and he gravely rebuked the spiritual pastors of the people for their heedlessness, both with regard to forbidden extravagances and the displeasing fashions of maidens' costumes. For the deformities of these two misshapen girl-babies just mentioned had the appearance of hair-braids, peaked caps, high furbelows on the shoulders, together with fringed petticoats and high-heeled shoes with other such vain extravagances. Such monstrous births have happened frequently both there and in many other places, God being indeed compelled to such acts by various extravagances and by the misuse of His gifts.

But Master Menelaus, who was chaplain to the Church of St Nicholas, spoke thus harshly of the ministers for their neglect in omitting to remove all reproach from themselves and their households, and in permitting their serving-girls to wear costumes in the forbidden style, and among other matters he mentioned the dead child, which was found in the well with a woman's garter round its neck, saying that it was just possible that it might have come from the house of one of the very learned gentlemen. It was chiefly for these words that the parish priest Master Andreas² laid a complaint against him with the archbishop Dr Hans Resen³, and for which he gained the anger and disfavour of all the reverend gentlemen, so that they stripped him of his office and dismissed him from his church. He used constantly to walk quite alone in St Nicholas' churchyard. A short time after this occurrence he preached his last sermon, to which I

¹ Menelaus Poulsen Næstved (1585-1626) became chief chaplain of the Church of St Nicholas in 1601, and in 1617 Chaplain to the Castle. Such misshapen infants were a favourite theme of his: cp. his pamphlet on the subject and his letter to the Chancellor, both in 1625 (Stolpe, *Dagspressen*, 1, and O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* II, p. 245). [R.C.]

² Magister Anders Arreboe, the poet, was parish priest of St Nicholas from 1616-18. [R.C.] Cp. p. 214 *infra*.

³ Dr Resen, a leading theologian, and four times Rector of the University, became in 1615 Bishop of Sjælland.

listened, unworthy as I was, together with many other pious persons, to whom he bade farewell with tears, blessing them with great humility, and the congregation did the same, for all loved him.

Afterwards the Archbishop and all the learned ministers appeared before the King and related the complaints they had against him, and desired the King to pronounce judgment, that he should either be banished or executed. But because a few years before they had banished a remarkable man of the name of the Rev. Oluf Kock¹, which the King greatly repented, the decision and settlement of this matter was no longer left in their hands. The King at once summoned the Rev. Menelaus, and commanded him to preach at once in the castle before him and in the presence of the reverend gentlemen, which was done. The King was much pleased with the discourse, and said the preacher would be welcome at the castle, so that he then became the royal chaplain.

A murder was committed one night shortly after I came to Copenhagen, in the street known as Læderstræde². The slayer fled and was never captured.

Many malefactors were punished and put to death in various ways: on gallows, swing-gallows and the wheel, until the King saw that crimes did not diminish notwithstanding:

¹ Oluf Kock, the fiery Norwegian pastor of the Church of St Nicholas, had in 1613 violently attacked Dr Resen from his pulpit, accusing him of heretical views in language so pithy that all Copenhagen flocked to hear him. He also attacked his Bishop, Vinstrup—"a dumb dog, who sits over his ten or fifteen courses at meals and rummages among his rose nobles and dollars," he said in a sermon. On his suspension at the end of this year he hurried to the King with complaints of Resen's heresy. The King himself was present at the ecclesiastical Court which tried him, and his caustic remarks to Kock on that occasion do not look as if he were likely to have repented the sentence passed. The banishment was rather a punishment for slander (of Resen to the King) than for heretical (Crypto-Calvinist) views. It is known that the King paid no heed to Kock's repeated pleas for pardon, but Jón may have thought he regretted the banishment because he afterwards made Resen appear before an ecclesiastical Court. This was, however, to give him a chance of clearing himself of the suspicion of heretical principles. Cp. Rørdam, *Kb. Univ. Hist.* III, pp. 225 ff.

² Læderstræde, running north of and parallel to the shore, ending in Store Færgestræde. See map.

whereupon it was resolved by the Council of State that no one should be executed for the next twelve years¹, however great a rascal he might be, unless he had been guilty of some great and unnatural crime. Hence a prison was founded at Bremerholm, called the Trunk², and those persons were imprisoned there who had offended against the law, whether much or little. They were confined in such a fashion that they had an iron girdle round their bodies, of such a size that their garments could be changed, and another ring below the right knee, and these were connected by a heavy chain down the outside of the thigh³. Four men were placed in authority over them and these were to urge them to their daily toil and slavery with whipcords, and to bring them their food and attend to their needs, lock up the prison house and unlock it again at the fixed customary hours, mornings and evenings. All kinds of persons in service who had broken the law in any way were sent there, and committed to it for a certain time according to the circumstances of each case. Some were to be there one month, some two, three or four, some a whole year, others two, ten or twenty years. Moreover the worst rascals were committed to it for life. The sergeant of the watch, Søren Tran, was confined in it for the offence of attacking a

¹ This is not quite accurate. In 1601 the King circularized the Governors of provinces, instructing them that thieves brought to trial by the King or his officials should be sent to Copenhagen Castle to work instead of being hanged. He expressly excepts persons who are the property of nobles (tenant-farmers bound to the soil), and those sued for theft by nobles or their officials (Secher, *Forordn.* III, pp. 139 f.). In 1620, no doubt owing to his great need of cheap labour, the King orders that all persons condemned to the gallows for lesser crimes shall be sent to work at Bremerholm (the naval dockyards), after sentence has been pronounced (*op. cit.* III, pp. 616 f.). From about this date, presumably owing to this ordinance, the number of prisoners increased so much that the "Blue Tower" of Copenhagen Castle no longer sufficed to lodge them, hence the building of the "Trunk," which seems to have been a wooden structure. Cp. Lind, *op. cit.* p. 340. The probable cause of the ordinance was that Christian IV urgently needed labour for his extension of the dockyard and fleet, and the labour had to be cheap. See Stuckenberg, in *Hist. Tidskr.* VI R., Bd. III (1891-2), pp. 666 ff.

² The original meaning of "Trunk" seems to be "a confined and dark space," "(dark) prison." Kalkar, *Ordbog*, and Molbech, *Dialekt Lexicon*, s.v.

³ The prisoners were usually chained in pairs, Lind, p. 341.

nobleman in the streets of Copenhagen with the help of his night-watch, beating him and using great violence. Also two elderly men, governors, or what we should call sheriffs of the county, arrived there from Laaland, sent to this same prison by Queen Sophia¹, committed to it for some years for false judgments and acceptance of bribes². Also a student, by name Peter, belonging to a Korsør family, was committed to it and doomed to eighteen years' confinement, for having slightly gashed his stepfather with a penknife. He and I had shared bed and lodging for a whole year, and he was soon to be ordained. This Peter with seven other prisoners escaped from the prison-house by crawling backwards through the privy drain right out into the sea and flinging themselves down from the wall which was nearly twelve feet high, the depth of the water being three or four fathoms. Then they swam along the walls to the sandbanks, wrenched off the irons, and so fled to Sweden³. One of them was captured and hanged. This Peter, the student, was for one year tutor to a nobleman's children in Sweden. Thereupon he went to seek his stepfather in order to demand his inheritance. The stepfather demanded proof that he had come honourably out of the prison, promising him his inheritance on condition that he should establish this, whereupon Peter flew into a rage, made a great scene, and tried again to strike his stepfather. He was seized by the authorities of the town and conveyed to Copenhagen, and executed in the Castle square at the close of a discourse or sermon which was composed on the text and substance of the fifth commandment of God.

The year before I arrived in Copenhagen three witches had been burnt in Sjælland⁴. One, the chief of them, was

¹ Queen Sophia, the mother of Christian IV, held the fiefs of Laaland and Falster, and lived at Nykjøbing in Falster. She was very severe towards her tenants. [R.C.]

² It is known that a Burgomaster of Nykjøbing in Sjælland was imprisoned in Bremerholm in 1624.

³ A royal letter of 1622 observes that "it often occurs" that criminals escape from Bremerholm. Lind, p. 340, cp. p. 341.

⁴ There is nothing improbable in this statement. In 1589, according to Mansa, 13 witches were burnt in Copenhagen, one of them the wife of a Burgomaster (*Bidrag*, p. 242).

called Maren Kringsteds, a woman of the upper classes; I do not remember what they had done.

One market day, a Saturday, in the summer of 1617, it happened that a man, by name Jens, who had recently married an excellent lady and lived in Lille Færgestræde¹ in Copenhagen, had left the town by the Western Gate with a worthy citizen. They were taking a walk on the plain crossed twice a week by the farmers who live in the neighbourhood, on their way to the market-place in the town with all those goods which are usually conveyed to the town from the country, such as rye, malt, barley, three kinds of groats, wheat, hops, honey, butter, cheese, swine, geese, ducks and many kinds of fresh-water fish. Among the farmers driving out of the town in their carts was one who was somewhat drunk². The young citizen, Jens, according to his time-honoured custom, set to pelting the farmers with horse-dung, and finally the drunken farmer became the object of his aim and taunts. Now as he was hurt by the pelting, and at the same time smarted sorely under the taunts, with which the other moreover continued to ply him, paying no heed to the advice and dissuasion of his fellow-townsmen, the farmer leapt down from his cart with a rusty sword such as farmers use to have lying in their carts without a sheath; ran him through with it, leapt on to his cart again and drove away. Jens at once fell dead. The other citizen carried this news into the city, and the body was fetched and conveyed within, and buried the next morning in St Nicholas' churchyard. The minister in the pulpit mentioned him with scorn, describing how he had been disobedient to his parents in his youth. A written warrant was made out against the slayer, but he was not proceeded against by the kinsmen of the slain³, nor was Jens mourned by his wife, to whom he had

¹ Lille Færgestræde (Little Ferry Street), parallel to Store Færgestræde, running from Højbro up to Østergade. Both Little and Great Ferry Streets were in the space at present occupied by Højbroplads.

² A law dated March 31, 1615, forbade farmers to remain in Copenhagen after midday on market-days, lest they should waste their substance on drink. Secher, *Forordn.* III, p. 450.

³ According to ancient Danish custom a slayer could not be legally proceeded against except by the kinsmen of the slain man. (For examples

conducted himself odiously, nor by anyone else. For a long time after this the townsmen lost the habit of mocking and ridiculing the countryfolk.

Once it so happened that the small boys who attended the Danish school, were playing with their wallets under the wall of the Town Hall, about four o'clock, *i.e.* an hour after nones¹. They had but newly issued from the school-room when two of them, aged seven and nine, became involved in a dispute. The younger seized his penknife and pierced the other with it, killing him, and then took straightway to his heels. No sooner had the incident occurred and the boy fled, than the news spread quickly over the town, so there was a great hue and cry, and it was reported to the Provost (that is the Sheriff of the City). He despatched his men, who are called town officers, and appear always where anything evil happens. They were to seize the boy who had committed the slaying. As they were on their way to the place where it had happened, this young boy meets them, in a street going up to the Western Gate of the town, and he asks them, "Whom do ye pursue?" They answered, the boy who had killed another. The lad replied: "A little boy was running along there just before you met me, and was going at the top of his pace"; and so directed them off the road. At once they set off running the way he pointed, but he easily came through the gate amid a mass of other persons and up into the country to a farmer, to whom he pleaded his plight. A short time after he had left a message was sent to all the town gates, to let no boy under ten years of age issue from the town. But since he had escaped so cleverly no pursuit of him took place; on the contrary he was bidden to make his way honestly where and how he could in Denmark or out of it, as long as he did not enter Copenhagen; and so we may here leave him.

of Danish law in this respect, in English, cp. Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, ch. v.) Christian IV, however, used to over-ride the law in the case of poorer man-slayers, and send them to Bremerholm.

¹ Icelandic *nón*, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a term derived from ecclesiastical law. The other Icel. measures of time derive from meal-times: *dagmál* (day-meal) about 8 a.m., and *náttmál* (night-meal) about 9 p.m.

In my sixth year of service under the King a horrible murder was committed a short distance from Copenhagen, in a parsonage. The minister's name was Master Søren¹. It so happened that the minister kept a house-servant; I do not clearly remember his name. One Saturday evening he ordered this fellow to cut firewood, enough to cook two Sunday meals, so that the Sunday should not be profaned by this toil. Supper over, the minister retired to bed together with his wife and their daughter aged six or seven, but the two maids who served this worthy couple waited until the man should have finished the work allotted to him. In his kindness and generosity the minister ordered one of the girls to take out to the man a jug full of his own ale, to cheer him, for he knew well that this night work would be much against the grain. The girl did as she was told, but just as she reached him in the yard, carrying the ale, he clove her skull in one blow, saying that she should pay for the minister. And when the minister thought that she was staying out beyond what was suitable he sent the other girl to know what caused the delay, and she came to her end in the same way as the first. Then the murderer entered the parlour and came to the couple's bed. The minister asked what kept the girls. He said that they were lying dead in the yard, and promised him and his wife the same fate, so that he might not give him wood to cut another Saturday evening. The minister, in great fear and

¹ This murder was committed on Nov. 15, 1618, when Jón had barely served the King three years, but it was three years later, according to his account, that the murderer was caught. The murder is narrated at great length by Nicholas Helvaderus, who regards the event as a natural corollary to the appearance of a comet at about that time (*Resolution oc Forklaring paa den ny Comet...*, Copenhagen, 1619). Helvaderus says it occurred on a *Sunday* evening, and that the murderer first killed the pastor's two young sons in the garden, then attacked the serving-maid in the parlour, and in the belief that he had killed her dragged her out to the stable. He then killed the pastor's wife, and finally the pastor, who was eighty-five years old, hacking the bodies almost to pieces. The maid hid in the straw in the stable, and the murderer, alarmed at her disappearance, seized a silver bowl and ran away—"but he will never run so far that God will not find him." Helvaderus thinks his name was Jørgen and that he was born in Aabenraa. In his story there is no motive for the act. The parson's name was Søren Pedersen, and his wife's Margrethe. Cp. S. V. Wiberg, *Dansk Præstehistorie*, III, p. 103.

trembling, pleaded for mercy and life, and promised that he should never again have to cut wood on a Saturday evening. But prayers and pleadings were of no avail. The minister asked for a respite long enough to recite the Lord's Prayer, which was granted him. Then the murderer swung his bloody axe aloft and hewed them both to death in their bed. But because it was very dark in the room there had been a struggle first, and their little daughter had crept out of the far end of the bed and had got away to the people who lived in the village not very far away. The murderer, this awful deed committed, hastened to break open the minister's chest, and with the most precious of the goods thus stolen filled himself such a large bag that he could barely stagger under it. Three years passed before this murderer was seized, in Holstein, which came about in the way I shall now tell.

This deceased minister had a nephew, who had entered an inn in Holstein: amongst other worthy folk this young man sees one wearing his uncle's hat. The minister's kinsman is so startled that all desire for food leaves him. He sees himself saddled with a difficult job, and revolves in his mind what he had best do. The landlord asks him if anything has upset him, but he denies it, and asks the other whence he came by the hat he was wearing, and said that it was the hat of his father's brother the Reverend Søren, who had been murdered in Sjælland by his own serving-man. The man was somewhat startled, but declared that he had bought the hat at the full price. Our young man debates within himself whether he shall lay hands on him. And as a warrant was out over the whole kingdom, that he should be seized wherever recognised, though he did not know him he yet laid hands on him, trusting in God, and having demanded the aid of those who sat round the table, and declared him the prisoner of the King until he should produce clear proof of where or from whom he had secured the minister's hat. But at once, on being seized, the other lost all power of resistance, and admitted that he was guilty of the above crime and heinous sin. Afterwards he got his deserved reward and a horrible death.

ABOUT THE COBBLER OR SHOE-MENDER, WHO STOLE
THE MONEY OF THE POOR FROM THE CATHEDRAL
BY NIGHT

IN the city of Copenhagen there was a certain cobbler, Jens by name, who had a little shop in the street of St Nicholas' church, where he daily toiled at his business. It so happened that one night in his first sleep he dreamt that a man came to him and asked him, how he would reward him, if he should show him a place where he could gain money. For this cobbler had that evening laid himself to sleep with heavy cares on account of his poverty and straitened circumstances. In his sleep he imagined that he explained his powerlessness to pay such a reward. The other said they would make a compromise. In his dream he clad himself and followed the other, until they came to the cathedral; then he knew he was awake. The other declared that there was money enough inside. He declared that he could not get it without being observed. The other said that he should push his back against the door, whereupon it opened, and urged thereto by this man the cobbler carried out one alms-box and opened it without noise or stir. I do not exactly remember the value of the sum, which was all in small coins, or *seslings*¹, of which each is worth about the fourth part of a cod-fish²; but I think the sum was reckoned as certainly about 300 dollars³.

¹ *Seslinger* or *soslinger* (from German *sechsling*) a coin worth six *Pendinge* or half a *skilling*. From 1619 ninety-six skillings were reckoned to the rixdollar, so that a *søsling* would be $\frac{1}{102}$ of a rixdollar. Cp. Wilcke, *Christian IV's Møntpolitik*, p. 152.

² In 1619 forty-five cod-fish were reckoned to the rixdollar in specie, so that Jón reckons a *søsling* as $\frac{1}{45}$ part of a rixdollar. His countrymen were practically unacquainted with small change, the only coin generally current in Iceland being the rixdollar in specie, which was required of them in taxes. As a basis of comparison it may be mentioned that from 1619 a pair of Icelandic woollen gloves cost $1\frac{1}{2}$ cod-fish, a three-year old sheep thirty-five cod-fish. Aðils, *Einokunarverzlun*, pp. 414, 370.

³ Icel. *dálr*. A rixdollar in specie was equal in weight to about four modern Danish kroner (about four English shillings), but of course it was

Then he said that he locked up the church again without making a rattle or sound. After this had been done, he said the other man disappeared.

Now until this stolen money was entirely squandered and dissipated (for he flung it away on every kind of extravagance) he gave up, for the time, his usual trade. The Sunday following this evil deed, when according to custom the church guardians had made their round of the people sitting in church, with the plates, in which everyone places what money he wishes, and as they were putting the alms-money away, they found one chest emptied of all cash. They informed the minister, who announced it from the pulpit at the close of his sermon, and it was then decreed at the Town Hall that any man paying or offering more than the value of half a dollar in seslings should be liable to be seized and set in irons for examination and enquiry.

It so chanced that when this aforesaid malefactor had squandered away the greater part of the stolen money, it seemed good to him to practise his old trade again. He went to a shoemaker of the name of Jacob, to buy leather for soling shoes; and in paying he produced the value of one and a half dollars in seslings. The other got a jug of ale drawn from the cask for him, but secretly sent to the Burgomaster, Laurids Magnusen¹, who at once despatched two constables to seize him. And when these entered the room they greet the host blithely, and ask for a jug of ale, which is granted to them. They ask who his companion is: and offer to go shares in the ale with him, but he says he may not stop. The host says the other has bought one and a half dollar's worth of leather and paid for it all in seslings. The constables declare that this must be the church thief, who stole the sacred money and the maintenance of the poor. Instantly they laid hands on him and he confessed at once to this monstrous crime. They took him before the Provost and then to prison,

worth about double in purchasing capacity. A "slet Daler" was worth about one-sixth less. Cp. Kalkar, *Ordbog*, s.v. *slet*, and *Danmarks Riges Hist.* iv, p. 103, note 1.

¹ A Burgomaster of Copenhagen from 1615 to 1620 [R.C.]. Four Burgomasters held office at once.

and soon after he was taken out and broken on the wheel outside the Western Gate.

NOW FOLLOWS THE STORY OF THE THIEF
WHO GOT A KEY MADE TO THE SHOPS

A certain butcher, called Christian, lived in Copenhagen, a well-to-do man. By the inspiration of the devil he set about getting into as many shops as possible, and bribed a certain smith, called Didrik, to do what was needful. Soon the shop-lads missed many kinds of wares out of their shops and mentioned it one to the other, and then quietly notified their masters. These resort to the plan of having two men lie in ambush in every shop through the night, and in this manner it was discovered who committed the thefts. He was found out, seized and set in prison with nine persons who served him, amongst whom was his wife, two daughters and one son.

He had a brother in the town, Jens the ferryman. This man lived in Vingaardsstræde¹, the very next door to my lodging. It was supposed that he was a werewolf, a kind of man who turns into the likeness of a wolf at whiles, yet without his own will². It runs in families and it is said that it is brought about through nefarious means. This ferryman Jens, brother of the above-mentioned, went into the road along which it was expected that the King would travel to Frederiksborg on the Strand by the Højbro, where I and many others were standing. When the King came out of the castle Jens fell on his knees. The King asks what he wants. He tells him, and says his request is, that his brother should be granted the grace or execution by the sword instead of hanging. The King replied that there were more urgent matters for him to ask for than that, namely to pray God that no such misfortune might fall on him as had overtaken his brother. He replied

¹ Vingaardsstræde, running eastwards from the church of St Nicholas and parallel to Østergade. See map.

² The belief in lycanthropy had come down from heathen times in Scandinavia, and had no doubt been greatly strengthened in the early 17th century by its acceptance by theologians. Cp. J. Bodin, *De Magorum Demonomania* (Frankfort, 1603).

that he was what he was, whatever manner of death he died. The King turned then, and asked how much he would give. The other offered 300 dollars¹. The King agreed and said that the sum should be given to the church, which was done, and Christian was executed with his household, ten persons in all.

ABOUT THE TAILOR'S WIFE

A certain tailor, by name Hannes, who lived up in the Cloth-booths², as they are called, possessed a young and attractive wife, called Anna. One of the soldiers had looked upon her with lustful eyes, and laid in wait for her with his comrades to lure her from her lawful husband, and for this reason there was a great riot one Saturday between the soldiers and the artizans of the city. The husband had to accommodate himself to her loss, for she herself had helped in the affair, so that he lost her altogether.

In the same way it happened that same autumn that a man, a knife-smith, called Maurus, had to lose his wife Betsabe, who also permitted herself to be taken and went away with a soldier into Germany. Also a nobleman, Jørgen Daa by name, who was Admiral in the North Sea and who captured Captain Mandaus off Russia, and with whom I made my first trip in a man-of-war in 1616, lost his noble-born wife in the same fashion, through a soldier who went off with her into Germany³. And though letters are written ordering the arrest of such people it avails not at all, for one soldier will seldom do a disservice to any of his comrades and mates.

¹ See note 3, p. 48 *supra*.

² Klædeboder, near Our Lady's church; see map.

³ Jørgen Daa married Magdalene Sørensdatter Baden, of a noble family of Skåne. All that is otherwise known of her is that she "conducted herself ill" as a wife. *Dansk Biograf. Lex.* [R.C.]

CHAPTER VIII

IN WHICH ARE RELATED MY VOYAGES IN WAR-SHIPS
IN THE NORTHERN PARTS OF THE ATLANTIC AND
VARIOUS OTHER MATTERS WHICH OCCURRED AT
THE ARSENAL

DURING the first year of my service under the King, in the year 1616, the King's flagship was being built at Bremerholm, the one that was first called *Caritas*¹ and later for a certain reason *Patientia*. In that year, 1616, a Council of State was held at Oslo² in Norway, in the presence of the King and others of the Council³. The Chancellor was Christian Friis⁴, who at that time had reached a great age, being just under or just over eighty. One evening at Oslo, when he was sitting at table with the King and other gentlemen, he was taken ill and begged the King very urgently for leave to be removed at once to the vessel in which he had come from Copenhagen, and which was called *Fides*⁵, so that he might start home the next morning, to which the King graciously consented. But in the night, at about twelve o'clock, he died⁶, and was taken home the next morning. Now when his lady, Mette or Mathilda⁷, heard this news, it

¹ Christian IV notes in his Journal under date June 15, 1616: "The new vessel, named *Charitas patriae*, launched." Suhm's *Nye Saml.* II.

² Oslo was the capital of Norway until it was destroyed by fire in 1624. Christian IV had it rebuilt a few miles nearer to the castle Åkershus, and gave the new town the name Christiania.

³ The Rigsraad, or Council of State. Cp. note 1 to p. 98 *infra*.

⁴ Christian Friis of Borreby, b. 1556, d. 1616, of one of the best noble families of Denmark. In 1596 he became Chancellor to the King, a post which combined many of the duties of a Foreign Minister and a Minister of the Interior. Cp. *Den danske Centraladministration*, pp. 117 ff. Christian Friis was an experienced and able man, who seems to have had considerable influence with the King. (*Dansk Biograf. Lex.*)

⁵ Jón says correctly *Fides*. The nobleman Sivert Grubbe in his Journal says it was the *Spes*. (*Danske Magasin*, IV R., II Bd.)

⁶ He was taken ill on the Friday, and died on the Monday, July 29. Troels Lund, *Dagligt Liv*, xiv, pp. 56 ff.

⁷ Christian Friis married Mette Hardenberg, of a noble family of Fyn, in 1595. Sivert Grubbe (*loc. cit.* p. 230) says, "she was a woman of great

affected her strangely, and it was said that she had an erroneous suspicion that his death had happened in some other way than she was told; and it was related that she nursed ill feelings towards the King, who was warned by good friends to be as wary as possible both on sea and land.

In the spring of that year 1617, the King resolved as before to make a voyage himself on his own ship *Patientia*. One evening all that was needed had been conveyed to the vessel, and the King intended to start the next morning. In the night such a furious gale rose from the east that all were astonished, and people thought houses and towers would be blown down. It lasted nearly half an hour, and during that time, the King's flagship was driven on to a sand bank off Bremerholm, out of the fleet of a hundred ships riding there. It was flung on to its starboard side so that the sea flooded in through all the portholes, for the guns [which should have blocked them] were all overboard. Thus all the provisions both of the King and of the crew were ruined, together with everything else. The King himself, together with all who served him, *viz.* captains, masters, artillerymen, sailors, carpenters and court officials were there daily for a fortnight, setting the ship to rights again, in which they succeeded after great toil. After this the ship's name, which had been *Caritas*, was altered, and because she had undergone such trials and difficulties the King had her called *Patientia*¹.

Shortly after this the King had the ship prepared for a voyage again, with another fast-sailing ship called *Spes*, in

influence, especially wise and influential in State affairs." In fact there were those who said she had more to do with public affairs than was fitting. The contemporary author Christopher Dybvad, in a work of about 1614, addressed to the King but never sent to him, says those countries flourish which have "Doctorem vel cœlibem Cancellarium, Gynocratiae non subjectum." Christian IV thought very highly of Mette's opinion, and there is no reason to suppose that their friendly relations altered after the death of the Chancellor. Cp. Sivert Grubbe's diary, *Danske Magasin*, iv R., iv Bd. pp. 44, 47.

¹ The King notes in his diary, April 29, 1617: "In the night between Monday and Tuesday there was such a storm that many of the vessels drove ashore, and one ship, named Charitas, heeled over on her side. After that same day the said vessel was called *Patientia*." (*Danske Samlinger*, v, p. 52.) [R.C.]

order to test the former's speed, stability and behaviour under sail. A few days previously the King let it be known that he intended to take his departure in this ship, but when the vessels were about to weigh anchor the King had himself conveyed by boat to the other vessel¹. This day there was good weather and sunshine. (At this time I lay sick of ague, which sickness lasted eighteen weeks.) And when the vessels had come out and had left Dragør² behind with a fair breeze, there came a squall of such terrific violence, that the main mast, which was put together of nine tree-trunks, and was two or three fathoms thick, suddenly broke, and flung into the sea twelve men who were in the main-top³. One of these died, and the King mourned over him with tears, saying that he had lost his life for him. He had service found for the man's children who were of full age, and their mother was afterwards married to a sailor. The third time that the King was to sail this ship down Øresund⁴ I was on board, and on this occasion everything went well.

On Easter Day, all the King's ships were lying out in the current the further side of Bremerholm, in gala array, that is with nettings all round the bulwarks and the main-tops, and flags and pennons on all mast-tops, and pennons from the yard-arms. During the sermon, a double-bottomed barrel drifted down to the ship *Patientia*, and the man whose watch it was caught the hook at the end of the davit-rope on to the barrel and hoisted it up, for he thought there might be something useful inside. But when he opened the cask there was a headless corpse lying inside. The man was terrified and heaved the cask back into the sea again. Afterwards there was a ghostly presence on the ship of which nine men became aware, myself among the number. We got a pain in the head,

¹ *I.e. Patientia.*

² Dragør, a village in the little island of Amager, south of Copenhagen.

³ Probably in a "fighting-top." But the number must have been exaggerated. The King says (June 30): "I sailed thence [from Copenhagen] on *Patientia*, and the mast went overboard: afterwards I sailed the same day on *Spes* to Kronborg."

⁴ As a matter of fact the King's own diary shows that he had tested the *Patientia* successfully on June 2. All these misfortunes are, of course, supposed by Jón to be due to Mette's malign influence.

for which the King showed us much compassion, visiting us daily himself, and ordering his steward to bring us the most wholesome food. This happened the second time that I was on board this ship with the King in the Sound. God granted us a return of health.

The third time the King had two other ships, *Fides* and *Spes*, fitted out for Norway for the port they called Flekkerø¹. At the request of certain persons, they were to see whether a block-house should not be built there, so that the ships which ran in there in a storm might pay toll to the State. For a great many ships run in there to ride out storms². But the King did not think it advisable³, nor the lords of the Council who accompanied him, Albret Skeel⁴, Admiral of the Kingdom, the Norwegian Chancellor⁵ and the Norwegian Statholder⁶. From there we got a fair wind. This Admiral was constantly in conversation with the King about the needs of the Kingdom, and his counsel was always sound, being based on the several circumstances and requirements of each case.

One morning it so happened as men were taking their breakfast, that one of the King's chamberlains was sent to enquire in the forecastle whether any Icelanders were on board, and if there were any they were to go at once to the King, because he so commanded. The chamberlain was told that two of the artillerymen were Icelanders, that is Jón Halldórsson from Eyjafjörð, and Jón Ólafsson, that is myself.

¹ This expedition, starting on May 7, arriving May 9, really preceded the trial of the *Patientia*. Cp. the King's diary, *loc. cit.* p. 52. As Jón was on this voyage his illness must have begun after it.

² As can be seen from Jón's own voyages. A contemporary Dutch bird's-eye view of Flekkerø, with directions for pilots, is reproduced in Eidem og Lütken, *Vor Sømagts Historie*, p. 297.

³ Jón is wrong here. A block-house was built here, on Slotsø, in 1619: cp. King's diary for June 2, 1619 (*Nyt Hist. Tidsskr.* iv, 1852, p. 230).

⁴ Albret Skeel of Fussingø, b. 1572, d. 1639, Admiral of the Kingdom (*Rigsadmiral*) from Dec. 1, 1616, to Jan. 1623, when he lost his office in consequence, it is said, of a quarrel with the King. He does not appear ever to have been in Iceland. (Lind, pp. 43 f. and *Dansk Biograf. Lexicon*.)

⁵ Jens Bjelke of Østraat, a Norwegian, b. 1580, became by his marriage with the daughter of Henrik Brockenhuus one of the wealthiest noblemen in Norway. He was made Chancellor in 1614 and held the office until his death in 1659.

⁶ Enevold Kruse (1554-1621) was Statholder in Norway from 1608 to 1618. [R.C.] He was the son of the nobleman Tyge Kruse.

Accordingly we went up on the quarter-deck with him to the King and the admiral Albret Skeel.

The King asked me to wait until he should have talked to the elder and bigger man. Him he asks his name and family, and with whom he had sailed from Iceland, and for what reason. Jón said there was no reason save for his longing for travel which had always been strong. The King said that could hardly be, rather he said he thought his audacious love of women had caused it. Then the King called me, and asks me in the same fashion my family and name, and whether I had been to school, for he said I had the appearance of one who has had book-learning, and he asked me also with whom I had sailed from Iceland. I said with the English, for I dared not deceive him about it¹. The King asks me, what necessity had led me into sailing with them rather than with Danes. I say there was no reason but my own wish. He asks about my voyage to England, sojourn there and departure, and how it pleased me, and much more about that country, about the buildings and the distances between the towns, the religion of the people and much else. I answered most of the King's questions and he confessed that I spoke the truth and that he enjoyed our conversation. Then the King touched on the English trade up here in Iceland, and my answer was that drift-ice often descended upon us from Greenland and took away our fishing tackle, so that we were left helpless. The King said that he had heard that before. Albret Skeel continually spoke up for inhabitants of this country, and said that he too would trade with the English, namely to supply his needs, without considering the Danish ship-owners, all the more if he lived in Iceland². And though they did buy them-

¹ See note 2 to p. 14.

² On April 17, 1616, the King issued an ordinance saying he hears that Icelanders trade with foreign nations and reminding them that it is forbidden. (Ketilsson, *Forordn.* II, p. 262.) In 1620 he sent ships to the Icelandic waters to search English fishing-vessels for Icelandic goods. The Icelanders pleaded, as Jón does, that they were often forced to buy fishing-tackle from the English, or starve. About 1636, one of the Icelandic Bishops told the Danish Chancellor that if Iceland was not to be depopulated poor folk would have to break the King's ordinance, for their lives' sake. Cp. Aðils, *op. cit.* pp. 578-81.

selves new fishing-tackle, the ship-owners profited nevertheless, for it was said that the Icelanders gave the Danes the flesh of the fish, and only kept the bones for themselves. He asked me if it were not so. But I said that it was true that the Danes had the bodies of the fish and that the Icelanders withheld only the heads.

A great deal more was said about this country's trade and the conditions both of rich and poor, but I made few replies thereto. But it was to be observed that the King had acquainted himself with much that went on here. He enquired about the adulterated wares of the Danes¹; whether the continual murmuring of those who lived here were well-founded, and yet he said that none came forward with documentary complaints on this score, which he much deplored, wishing that Iceland were as near as Norway was to us then. I told the King that there was an Icelandic student at that time in Copenhagen, Thorlák Thorkelsson of Hólar, who had three kinds of samples of such wares to show. The King was pleased to hear it and bade me urge that they should be shown to him, so that he might get to learn something definite about the matter. And then, when our conversation was quite ended for that occasion, the King summoned his own cellarer, Master Christian Skammelsen², and ordered him to hand over to us a pottle of wine containing twelve pints³, and on our receiving this we had permission to withdraw.

Albret Skeel urged the King to enlist men from Iceland; the King said the country was not populous and the farmers could not spare their people. Always after this the King gave me a friendly greeting, wherever he saw me.

After this we got a south-east wind up the coast of Norway all the way to Flekkerø: then the King went ashore to see

¹ Since all competition had been removed the wares of the Danish merchants naturally became worse and worse. But there were many persons whose interest it was to prevent the complaints of the Icelanders reaching the King.

² The King's cellarer Christian Skammelsen was a well-to-do citizen in Copenhagen, where he kept a wine-cellar. He died in 1626. [R.C.] Cp. *Kjøbenhavns Diplomatarium*, II, p. 644.

³ Twelve marks. A mark, Icel. *mörk*, was equal to half a Danish "pot," usually translated quart: really 0.96612 litre.

what he thought and the other noble lords with him. They repaired to the nearest parsonage, which lay close to the harbour, and out to the ships in the evening, and then on the homeward journey next morning. The King considered it inexpedient to have a block-house built there.

On the voyage home it happened that when the King was about to take supper all the table silver was missing, and the King's steward had forgotten to demand it after the midday meal. There was great disquiet on the ship on account of this occurrence and all were called up on deck and of each man his keys for all his chests were demanded, and I, like most others, was in great fear lest some evilly-disposed person should have laid the silver in the box of some innocent man. This search was made by the provost-marshal and his four underlings. A sailor by name Rasmus went to the ship's master and gave him secretly to understand that that same day, an hour after the midday meal, something which rattled had been poured out of a vessel through the water-port. This was reported to the King. The man who had done it was called Jon and had recently come into the King's service, and came from northernmost Norway. When they first enter the King's service such persons are called Greylegs¹. This man was lent to the King's cook Master Christian, who had eleven men under him. Jon was at once called before the King, and in great fear he flung himself prostrate before him and confessed that he had done it in heedlessness, and had not observed the plate, the water being very foul. The King smiled and had compassion on the fellow, and said he was poor and ignorant, and decided that he was to serve for one year for this offence up on Bremerholm². And then no more was said about the matter.

One day on the return journey there was a dead calm, and after sermon and dinner the King had all the crew called up on deck and bade them hit upon some entertainment. He was most inclined for two men to pull "cats' necks"³ as it is

¹ In Norway wolves are called "greylegs"; in Denmark this seems to have been a nickname applied to lice. Cp. Kalkar, *Ordbog*, s.v. *graaben*.

² In the naval dockyards. Cp. p. 42 *supra*.

³ This game is not described in Troels Lund, *Dagligt Liv*.

called. This game is so played, that they throw a rope over each other's necks, and then tug as hard as they can with fists and body. A line is chalked across the deck, and over this each strives to haul the other. This Jon, who had poured the silver overboard, was bidden begin the game: he was a big man and enormously strong. Against him one of the crew was pitted, first the strongest of the sailors, and afterwards four others, all of whom he quickly overcame. The King gave him half a mark for each man he overcame, that is the value of four cod-fish¹. Then a champion was sought among the artillerymen—Jón Halldórsson, my faithful comrade, whom I mentioned before was the first to contest with him, but he was of no avail. Next came one of the artillerymen, called Michael, a fine fellow both as regards height and strength; these two had a long struggle, until Michael won, and the King gave him a double reward. So great was the struggle that one could feel the ship tremble under it. Later many other games were played for the entertainment of the King. Some played at fetching a small coin with their mouths out of a bucket of water, holding their hands behind their backs. Others clambered into the rigging, and slid headforemost down the stays, and many other things.

Later in the day we saw a ship ahead of us; a Dutch ship, not a man-of-war. I had two cannons in the fore part of the ship, not very large, of the kind called "halfgoods²": the balls weighed five pounds. The King bade those who were in charge of them clear them for action, which was done. Then the King said: "Now you, Jón, hit me that ship that sails there." When I had made ready the guns with powder and all appertaining thereto and had placed them in position, the

¹ A mark was worth sixteen skillings. (Cp. Secher, in *Hist. Medd. om København*, I, p. 293, note 4.) In 1619 the value of a rixdollar in specie (i.e. ninety-six skillings), was fixed at forty-five fish (dried cod-fish: cp. Aðils, *op. cit.* p. 413, note 7). Thus a skilling works out at about half a fish, so that eight skillings (half a mark) is worth four fish.

² The full designation of these guns was "English cannon for halfgoods" or "English half-slange" (serpent). The cannon-balls weighed 9 or 10 lbs., and 3½ lbs. of powder were used. The guns were also called Driangel or Triangel. Christian IV purchased most of his cannon from England and Germany. Cp. Blom, *op. cit.* pp. 213, 238, 241.

King aimed them according to his own fancy, but I set the light to them. He did not wish to injure the Dutchmen, only to give them a fright; and we fired eleven shots at them before they struck their flag. Afterwards the ship's captain came on board our vessel with four men, trembling and in great fear, throwing themselves before the King with tears, the while he excused himself profusely, especially for not knowing that the King himself was on board. The King suggested, for a joke and to see how he would take it, that he should pay for all the shots, each shot a rose noble¹. The King would not receive these moneys then, but said the other should be liable for them if he showed such contumacy another time. His Majesty had a twelve-pint measure of Rostock ale², and food, served to them; but on account of his terror the captain could neither eat nor drink. Then he went back to his ship in peace.

And when we approached Varberg Castle³ the King was set ashore in a boat with some of the lords and gentlemen of the Court. Then the King got into a carriage with his high-born suite and travelled across Halland to Skåne and over the Sound from Helsingborg to Elsinore, and after a short sojourn there he returned to the ship. Late in the evening we reached Copenhagen, at St Anne's Quay⁴. The King's Court chaplain, Master David⁵, preached a long discourse and

¹ A rose noble was equal to four dollars in specie. In earlier times Christian IV had actually exacted this fee. After stopping an English vessel in 1599 he had demanded and obtained a rose noble for each of the two shots he had fired, and a barrel of "English drink" and two barrels of Dutch bread. (Cp. Sivert Grubbe's Journal, *Danske Magasin*, iv R., II Bd. p. 398.) In 1607 he had ordered that every shot fired from Bergenshus Castle to make a foreign vessel strike topsail was to be paid for at the rate of a rose noble. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, iv, p. 227.)

² Rostock ale, see note 1, p. 142 *infra*.

³ Varberg, on the west coast of Sweden. The King's diary notes under May 14: "Went ashore at Waarberrig (Varberg) and so to 'Falkenberrig' the same day." On May 16 he went to Elsinore or Kronborg, and thence back to Copenhagen by ship.

⁴ St Annæ Bro. A Lübeck traveller, visiting Copenhagen in 1600, says: "Near the harbour is a stone quay which reaches from the shore to far out in the deep water: it is called St Anne's Quay and is a very handy place to bathe from." (Suhm's *Nye Saml.* III, p. 99.)

⁵ Jón is probably thinking of the chaplain of the ship, but it seems very doubtful if any such was called David.

thanksgiving with heartfelt eloquence. Then the King went ashore to his gardens, which then lay outside the town to the north. In them were every kind of plants and herbs. The name of the chief gardener was Marcus. A castle stands in the middle of the gardens, with a high tower, beautifully built, and a handsome house with gilded and painted decorations and a sweet scent inside¹. In the middle of the garden stood a statue of His Majesty carved out of alabaster stone².

The next morning we arrived home in the town, and each of us was well greeted by his acquaintances, and thanks were given to God for a fortunate voyage both out and homewards.

About the lady Mathilda, of whom I spoke before, it was said that when she heard of the King's landing she went alone into her bed-chamber and forbade her maid to attend her into it, and was found dead there shortly afterwards³.

¹ In 1606 Christian IV had begun laying out his new garden just outside the eastern ramparts of the city, which have since been levelled. It was called "the King's garden" until after the Castle (begun in 1610) was finished, when we find the name Rosenborg given to the gardens as well as to the Castle. The gardens are now a public park, still called the King's Garden (Kongens Have). Marcus Wiblitz was the head gardener from 1606 to 1623. He died in 1628. [Cp. R.C.]

² The Curator of Rosenborg Castle, Mr Bering Liisberg, informs me that this statue was probably like several others in the gardens, not of alabaster nor even of marble (often called alabaster at this time), but of clay, the surface being treated with white oil paint. This is the only reference to it.

³ Mette Hardenberg died nearly a month after the King's return, on June 15. The populace were inclined to attribute black arts to any woman possessing unusual knowledge or capacity: cp. the firm belief that Christian II's Dutch adviser, Sigbrit, was a witch.

CHAPTER IX

WHEN I first came to Copenhagen in the year 1615 there was an open channel between the town and the island of Amager, and persons were ferried across it in small boats¹. The point where the people embarked in the boats was called Kivnes², or Dispute Point, on account of the chatter of the people, their quarrelling and disputes, which could be heard there daily. For every one pushed himself forward as best he could in order to pass into the boats, and many blows of hand and knife were dealt, when quarrelsome persons met there. At first I used often to be ferried across to Amager, for a man with whom I had dealings dwelt there, by name Niels Aageson, a merchant at the Danish trade-station in Skutilsfjörð, in Ísafjörð Deeps. At his house I always received a warm welcome, himself and his wife being much attached to me. Every Saturday I met him in Copenhagen if I were at home, for that was market-day. Magnús Arason and Magnús Sæmundsson³, my dear countrymen (now asleep in God), were sometimes together with me in his house, everything good cheer and hospitality, and I was once with him at a magnificent wedding festival. He often lent

¹ The bridge, then called Long Bridge or Amager Bridge, now Knippelsbro, was begun in January 1618, and was built out from the end of a wide embankment Christian IV had thrown out from Slotsholm, the island on which the Castle stood. (On this embankment he afterwards built the Exchange.) There was a toll for crossing the bridge, largely paid by the farmers of Dutch extraction whose forbears had settled on Amager during the reign of Christian II. Cp. H. C. Møller, in *Hist. Medd. om København*, v (1915), p. 241, and O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* iv, p. 277. The difficulties in building the bridge had previously been considered to be insuperable, on account of the strong current. Part of it was a swing bridge. In 1625 Ole Worm notes that "Long Bridge" was ruined by storm and tempest. (*Danske Saml.* II R., 2 Bd. p. 391.)

² Kivnes was on the Amager side, about where Brogade begins, where a tiny islet had become the point of a promontory. Cp. H. Ramsing, in *Hist. Medd. om Køb.* III, 71.

³ These two were later successively Sheriffs of the district of Barðaströnd in Iceland. They died in the same year,—1635. Magnús Arason was a son of Ari Magnússon of Ögur: see note 3, p. 6 *supra*. Cp. B. Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir*, II, 87 ff. [S.B.].

me money, which was richly paid back to him by my blessed mother and brother, out of my moneys which I left behind here. Of the goods sent to me from Iceland, the value of 600 fish¹ remained in his keeping.

A certain young man of the name of Jasper served the honourable Ivar Poulsen², Burgomaster, in Copenhagen, as shop-lad. He sailed two years running up to Skutilsfjörð, and was to bring me the value of 740 fish on behalf of my mother and brother. But he was attacked by plague the second day after he had returned from Hamburg, for at that time the ships unloaded there. And because there was nothing to show in his handwriting, I never received any compensation, though I repeatedly made my claim both to the Burgomaster and to the dead man's heirs, who lived in Holstein.

These were the Burgomasters of Copenhagen during the time of my sojourn there. The first and oldest of them was Knud Markussen, the second Ivar Poulsen, the third Michael Vibe, the fourth Peter Andersen³. These had all been poor men's sons, begging their bread, when they first came to Copenhagen, but by the will and grace of God they became powerful men in the end. Peter Andersen had travelled to Jerusalem, and was away for half a year. The cause of this journey was as follows, according to what he told me. He was once sitting drinking one evening with three gentlemen, and fell into a hot dispute about the journey to Jerusalem⁴. The gentlemen declared that it could not be accomplished in less time than two years, but he vehemently denied it, main-

¹ Fifteen *vættir*, see note to p. 21 *supra*.

² Ivar Poulsen, a merchant, was a Burgomaster from 1615 till his death. He was born in Kolding in 1567. [R.C.]

³ Knud Markvardsen, Burgomaster from 1606 till his death in 1629. Mikkel Vibe, born in 1565, Burgomaster from 1609 till his death in 1624, made a name in the history of Copenhagen. He was engaged in trade with Iceland as well as with many other countries. He started life poor, but had received a good education. Cp. O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* III, p. 201, and *Hist. Tidskr.* III, p. 153. Peter Andersen Randulf was Burgomaster from 1618 to his death in 1620. Four Burgomasters held office at once.

⁴ It was fairly common for young noblemen of this time to visit Jerusalem: cp. Rørdam, *Kjøbenhavns Univ. Hist.* III, p. 444 note; also *Ny Kirkehist. Saml.* p. 664.

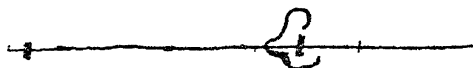
taining that, but for accidents, the journey might be made in one year, and he declared himself willing, on his faith and honour, to forfeit all his goods to the King, if it should not so prove. They laid a wager about it among themselves, that each of them should be liable to pay him 1000 dollars¹, if they lost; and each gave his hand upon it. The next morning they reported the affair to the King. Peter Andersen was at once summoned and reminded of the substance of his words, which he was obliged to acknowledge, and so the agreement must needs stand on either side. And so his wife with his three daughters was obliged to leave their house, nor take a shilling's worth out of it away with her, and he had to find her house and shelter with his good friends for so long as his absence lasted. Thus he parted with great grief from his wife and children, and travelled at the greatest speed possible, as God granted him good fortune and as his road lay, first south to Rome whence he got a Letter of Indulgence from the Pope², and then south to Jerusalem, which distance, from Copenhagen to Jerusalem, is 600 (Danish) miles. And he accomplished his journey prosperously in half a year and received his house back again (it had been locked meanwhile and still more securely barred with three boards, with the King's seal set on each board). The King gave him three suits for holy days and granted him a Burgomastership. So these gentlemen were obliged to hand over to him the money he had won, which was 3000 dollars. Thus did God help him well and prosperously out of his difficulties, to His perpetual honour and glory, and he was always in favour with the King and worthy in the sight of all. And now, this tale being finished, I shall turn to another matter.

A short time after I had been entered in the royal service I was allotted the watch of the Arsenal every ninth night, and in such kindly fashion that I should be in the watch of two of my mates, Jón Halldórsson and Rasmus Hansen. These

¹ See note 3, p. 48 *supra*.

² This statement suggests that the story must first have been told of a Burgomaster of the pre-Reformation period. In Jón's time every Dane was necessarily of the reformed faith. Randulf's biography does not mention the episode here narrated.

were bidden instruct me in anything and everything which might appertain to the guns and the service of the Arsenal. The captain of the guard was called Hans Mikkelsen, a worthy man. Every night, after all were gathered together, the watch drew up by the gate near Højbro where I had first lodged, close by the King's stables. There were twenty-four of us besides the captain of the guard, the piper and drummer, which last went home again with those who had stood guard for a day and a night. They march two by two and in file, as in battle-array, first the captain of the guard with his huge halberd, leading the way, with the drummer to his right and the piper to his left; then follow the seniors, and so they file past in order, each having a sword at his side and on his shoulder a halberd with a linstock attached to it, called a *sintrør*; this *sintrør* is of the shape here figured¹:



As soon as we have proceeded to the east of the Castle, on the way to the Arsenal, the captain calls a halt to his troop, and arranges them in a ring: then he leans to the ear of the man nearest to him on the left side, and tells him the password, which he privately learns from the governor of the Castle every day, and which is thus told to the watch privately,

¹ The drawing in the text is taken from the Ögur MS. It occurs, somewhat different, in E. and D., but not in the other MSS. The exact nature of a *sintreyr*, Dan. *sintrør*, was a matter of discussion until the publication of this illustration. (Cp. Blom, *op. cit.* p. 303 and the works there referred to.) Jón's drawing indicates that it was a kind of linstock. The "*lin*" (Dan. *lunt*) was a wick of thick string or thin twisted rope, which was set alight and applied to the powder-hole of the gun. In order to avoid burning the hand, the wick was sometimes wound round a rod (linstock). But sometimes this linstock was made into a weapon which could be used as a spear: the rod was then hollow, and the wick issued from a hole in the cross-piece towards the point of the rod, which ended in a real spear-head. It must be this weapon which was termed "*sintrør*." In Jón's drawing the cross-piece and point can be clearly seen. Cp. also the illustrations in W. Boenheim, *Waffenkunde*, Leipsic, 1890, p. 489, and *Catalogo della Armeria Reale*, Torino, 1890, p. 377. [Information furnished by Captain Stöckel of the Historical Museum of the Arsenal to the Editor of the Icelandic edition.]

so that none may know the word save the watch alone. And if any should forget the word, and be unable to answer it at midnight when the captain of the guard comes with the piper and the drummer to test the watch, he forfeits his life¹, if he is standing guard at the time. This same word each whispers into the ear of his neighbour, until it reaches the right ear of the captain. But if anyone has misheard the whisper, so that a wrong word reaches the captain's right ear, then it has to be repeated again until it is rightly understood². After that six private soldiers³ march up to the castle to stand guard in the castle yard and eighteen up to the arsenal. Then those who have stood guard one day and one night go back to where the captain is waiting for them, and he accompanies them in file in the same manner to the gate, where all the guard is assembled as was mentioned before, and then each takes his own way home.

Sometimes when they are thirsty the guards go into the wine-cellars⁴ along the shore to refresh themselves. It so happened one time when I had recently been put to stand guard at the Arsenal, and had left my watch and gone west over the bridge from the gate, that a certain artilleryman called Peter Dragør invited me into the cellar just opposite to the bridge, which is called Christine Doctor's⁵ cellar, to

¹ § 44 of the regulations dated April 4, 1611: "Any one forgetting the password or found to be using a false password, shall be at once put to death by the sword, by those who make the round." Secher, *Forordn.* III, p. 305. These regulations were first issued for the war with Sweden, 1611-13, but continued in force in peace-time.

² This method of issuing the password is still in use in Denmark. [R.C.]

³ Besides the King's guard the watch at the Castle was kept by private soldiers, *Aarsknægte*, enlisted for a year at a time by the Commander of the Castle. The watch at the Arsenal and other royal establishments was entrusted to the artillerymen, whereas the town watch was left entirely to the care of the citizens. [R.C.]

⁴ Most of the drinking-booths of the town were along the shore, cp. O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* iv, p. 380. [R.C.] Many of these seem to have been then, as now, in cellars.

⁵ Christine was the widow of a doctor. Cp. p. 83 *infra*. Widows were spoken of by their Christian name with the name of their husband in the genitive case, "widow" being understood. A contemporary document mentions her house in Højbrostræde, with "a place under the house," no doubt the tavern. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* II, p. 556.) Most of the drinking-booths were kept by women: cp. O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* iv, p. 148.

drink a glass of ale. For a long time I hesitated and said that I had no money with me. He said he had money both for himself and for me, and bade me not doubt him. I went with him, howbeit somewhat against the grain. The waiter was called Niels. The fellow continued to call for ale until half a dollar's worth had been drawn, and the night was far advanced. Then he says he will go outside. I beg him to pay for the ale and wine: he says he is an honourable man, and asks me if I misdoubted he was a rogue. Then he went and never returned again that night. And as he tarried over long, the serving-lad said: "Now thy mate has disappeared, so do thou count out the money for the ale and wine." I said I had no money on me, and moreover that I had not asked him for any ale. He said that I had after all drunk with the other, and declared I should not leave until I had paid, and seized the lapel of my tunic and bade me take it off, yet not roughly. But it had so happened three days before that Thorlák Thorkelsson, my good friend, had given me a valuable Icelandic fox-skin, because I had sold some Icelandic wares for him which had been sent to him from Hólar. For this fox-skin I had got two dollars, and of these, five marks¹ remained in my secret pouch, which I carried next my skin, and out of these I paid him two marks, that is the value of sixteen cod-fish. He embraced me and thanked me cordially, and assured me that I should receive back the full worth of this payment, by God's aid and if we both lived, and be friends from that day forth, and indeed all the time he served there thereafter I was always made much of and welcomed. He promised that the other fellow should never be allowed there again, and counselled me to beware of him and his like. Afterwards he drew a quart of French wine for me, and having drunk that I went home in peace to my lodging, which was in Vingaardsstræde at Jón Halldórsson's. His wife came from Holstein and was a worthy and much-respected woman.

¹ Icel. "sljettir dalir." The "slet Daler" was worth four marks. In 1619 two marks were reckoned equal in value to fifteen cod-fish. Cp. Secher, in *Hist. Meddel. om København*, I, p. 293, note 4, and Aðils, *op. cit.* p. 410, also note 2, p. 48 *supra*.

Now it happened early the next morning that our drummer Morten went through all the streets beating on his drum, as constantly happened when the King required us. The piper and the provost-marshal, Jørgen Kiempe, accompanied him, and every time the drummer ceased beating his drum the provost-marshal cried out what their business was on that occasion. And this time the business was that fifty-two new cannons which had recently been cast and brought out from the founder's (as the man is called who casts and constructs the cannons) were to be tried and tested on an open space near by, under the King's attentive eye, and they were to be carefully inspected by him; moreover, the balls for each cannon were to be weighed on scales. Now this morning, in this summons of the provost-marshal, all we Royal Artillerymen were strictly bidden each and all, on pain of death, to present ourselves on Gammel Mønt¹, as the square is called, at six o'clock in the morning, which is what we should call in Iceland mid-morning², and there we appeared punctually. The King was already there and we were at once mustered, and our names read out by Jørgen Hansen, the muster-clerk at the arsenal. The King himself stood at the master's side, to see if any failed. The foundry-master, who casts the cannon, was called Hartvig³ and was a German. When the King began himself to weigh the powder in one of the scales against the ball in the other, this man beseeched the King to have

¹ Gammelmønt, the "Old Mint," a name not met with before about 1618. The gun- and bell-foundry and Royal Mint occupied the church, cloisters and ground of St Clara's nunnery. The gun-foundry had been moved thither from St Peter's church in 1586, when Frederik II gave the latter church for the use of the German congregation. About 1610-11, Christian IV abandoned the church as foundry and put up a new building close by. The name Gammel Mønt survives in the street of that name, dating from about 1631-50, when the old grounds of the nunnery became building land. Cp. O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* iv, p. 82. The church can be clearly seen in Wijk's view of Copenhagen.

² *Míður morgun*, 6 a.m., i.e. midway between midnight and midday. So also *míður aptan* 6 p.m. This way of reckoning time was old Danish as well as Icelandic.

³ Hartvig Qvelchmeyer, cp. Blom, *op. cit.*, and *Kirkehist. Samling*, III, 4, 262 ff. [R.C.]. He became foundry-master in 1614-15. Cp. *Hist. Meddel. om København*, VII (1919-20), p. 223. Most of the King's foundry-masters were of German origin.

compassion on him, a poor man, in the weighing, and not to put so much powder to each gun, as should equal each ball or *kugel*, as they call them, in weight¹; for he considered that the cannon could not endure the strain. Now the foundry-master has at his own expense to re-cast any cannon which bursts when it is first tested, and for this work he keeps five prentices, to whom he pays high wages. The King paid small heed to his words, and said that a man's life was of more value than a few coins and more difficult to pay for than the repair of the cannon. Hartvig begged us all to join with him in a tearful prayer to God that the test might go off well, which prayer God granted, so that not a single cannon burst out of the fifty-two, except for a little fragment near the mouth of one of them, and the King said it was none the worse. The foundry-master joyfully gave us something to drink his health in. The King told him to attend next morning in the exchequer, to receive his payment for them, but I do not remember how much money is paid by the King for each hundredweight. These copper guns cost a great sum, some 400, some 800, some 1200 or 1600 dollars². One Jens Korsør kindled the fuses of all the cannon, which were so arranged that they lay alongside of one another on wooden rests: under the fore and after part of the gun were laid rollers of wood, and between the touch-holes of the guns were straight barrel-staves, on which the powder-train was strewn, so that he who should fire off the cannon only needed to kindle the powder for the first gun, for the flame ran along the barrel-staves³ and thus one cannon after the other was fired off. The King was much pleased that the cannon stood the test so well, and that no one came to harm. He promised

¹ Blom (*op. cit.* p. 183) mentions that in testing the cannon called "Old Kings" an equal weight of powder and ball was used, instead of, as usual, 10 lbs. powder to a 14 lb. ball.

² The accounts do not make it possible to estimate the cost of any single cannon. A good deal of the cost was borne by the towns, which were appealed to for copper. In 1601 the King ordered that all country churches possessing more than one bell should hand them over to his foundries or pay their value. The King also obtained metal from the Norwegian mines. Cp. Blom, pp. 178 ff.

³ This was for safety's sake. It frequently happened that guns burst in testing. Cp. Blom, *op. cit.* p. 183.

us a barrel of ale, of the kind known as King's Ale, which is well known here in Iceland.

Now we must return to Peter Dragør who was named before and had bidden me to the wine-cellar for a drinking-bout. That evening, when I had come from the drinking-bout, I told my host Jón Halldórsson all the truth about Peter's fooling of me and his mean deceit. The scurvy trick he had so audaciously played on me became known to our comrades, and incensed them greatly, and they urged me with great heat to pay it back to him by flinging a stone at him, which I did. They stood as a screen so that the King should not see. Peter drew his knife and wanted to fly at me, shouting violently, but they seized and held him. Then he wanted to go to the King and complain of me, but they told him it would turn out ill for him, seeing that he had committed such a mean trick, and so we became entirely reconciled. He promised me never to do the like nor to tease me in any other way, and always kept the promise, though he was a rare fellow for tiffs and quarrels. All the men in our service were greatly attached to me.

A man called Morten, nicknamed "the Mouthstrong," did however once plunge a knife into my left shoulder when I was not looking. But the reason for it is as follows. There was a Norwegian in the town called Jon, who was in the habit of spending his summers on merchant voyages to various countries. He had a wife called Bodil. This Morten and she had a quarrel three years before, when she was a maid in service with a worthy family. This man being audacious at times had in his fun seized her under her petticoats rather far up, while she was sewing, and she had snatched up the scissors and plunged them into his arm. Morten had never forgotten it nor been moved to forgiveness, although she had made friendly overtures and an honourable offer regarding compensation. Now it happened, as often before, that Jon was not at home, but this fellow had come on shore without leave from a ship of war with which he was to sail, and had entered the house of Jon and his wife with intent to disturb, and declared himself ready to destroy all the valuables

in the house. The woman offered him the worth of four dollars as a peace-offering. He would not be pacified by any offer of hers, and frightened her into fetching ale for him. Now while this was happening, I was sitting at home in my lodging ripping open my old tunic to use as lining. A man called Anders Sandvig came in to see me; he had served His Majesty eight years as a trooper and had recently become an artilleryman. This man asked me to show him the way to one of our company, by name Berndt Berndtsen, which I did, and left the house without knife or sword, for I thought I should be back again directly, as my host and his wife were both out, and the house empty of inhabitants. As we were passing the door of the house where Morten was sitting, he was behaving in a very overbearing fashion to the woman, intimidating her with great threats into giving him money for ale, and when she saw me she called out very loudly and begged me in God's name to come to her assistance, for that one of our company was within and showing her violence. And because Jon and I were friends, and he now far away, I was moved by compassion for her, and further persuaded by Anders, I went in with the intention of averting worse evil and making peace between them, if it might be done. Morten greets me suitably and invites me to take part in the carousal, but I said I would not accept unless he would first be reconciled with the woman and treat her peaceably. At once, beside himself with passion, he demanded whether I meant to take her part and defend her. I said no more than was needed for peace. He seized a full jug on the table and tried to strike me on the head with it, and leapt forward himself after flinging it. I dodged it and rushed at him and forced him all at once on to the bench, he being drunk; otherwise I might have had a difficult job, for he was a stalwart fellow. He begged for peace and promised good behaviour, whereat I promised him on my side good-will and friendship, and urged him to be heedful so that he might avoid mishap and injury. He took my speech well as far as words went, and promised to benefit by my advice. But no sooner was he free, than he seized his knife, and showed intent to harm me

with it, in which, however, he was prevented. Thereupon he bade me go outside and fight him, if I would not forfeit my honour; so I could not refuse him. The woman at once offered me her husband's sword, a half-rapier, and we went outside, and had not exchanged many blows before he got a gash across the front of his head. He said that would satisfy him, and betook himself off at once, on to the rampart which surrounds the town, and out of our sight. But soon after he came upon me unawares, as I was opening a door near by, and plunged his large knife up to the hilt in my left shoulder, and then ran off as fast as he could. One of our people, called Johan Christensen, cried out and pursued him, calling out to him to halt and declaring that he had behaved like a rascal. The other ran as best he could, and when he got back to his ship was condemned to be dropped seven times in the sea from the yard end¹, wounded as he was. I went to Master Jacob the surgeon, who lived in Østergade². He declared my wound to be very dangerous, owing to the proximity of the joint, from which he estimated that three pints of articulatory humours had escaped³. Many persons counselled me to bring this affair before the court of judgment of the Arsenal and have him doomed a felon, which I did not desire. They said I was an odd fellow. He also went to the same surgeon to have his wound bound up. Afterwards he sent two artillery-masters of the Arsenal⁴, that is to say, constables, up to the Arsenal to me to procure peace and reconciliation. These men are of a higher rank than ordinary artillerymen, and one such has charge of the whole artillery of a ship, that is to say, of all war-gear, and they are responsible for powder and shot and other matters of the kind. Morten promised to observe all the conditions I might make, but I desired nothing more of him than that he should hand-

¹ Because he had left his ship without leave. [R.C.] The usual punishment mentioned in the regulations is keel-hauling.

² Cannot be Dr Jacob Hasenbart mentioned below, p. 82, as he died in 1607.

³ This seems a remarkable exaggeration.

⁴ For Masters of the Arsenal, cp. note 2, p. 36 *supra*. We find that some of them "cannot keep accounts and write only very badly." Blom, p. 25.

somely defray both the surgeon's fees, which he did. But because he had previously served in the same household as the surgeon's wife, and relieved her of many irksome duties, this was considered in the bill, and he only needed to pay twelve dollars, eight for me and four for himself; and to the surgeon's apprentice two and a half dollars. From this time I became better acquainted with Master Jacob, the surgeon, and was liked by both him and his wife.

One evening, six weeks later, in the autumn, just as the clock had struck four (at which time it was our habit to go home from the Arsenal) as we were running races across the Castle yard, it being very frosty with a north-east wind, it so chanced that in the middle of the run on the smooth yard, Morten broke his leg and he was carried home by six men. When this happened he had been married six months. During this winter rations were sent out to us in our homes. I used to give Morten the full half of mine, for which he was very grateful, and many persons thought highly of the deed and praised it. I used frequently to visit him that winter during the thirteen weeks he lay under the surgeon's hands, and many a time did he ask my forgiveness which I freely granted him, as I also forgive myself.

Afterwards, on a journey to Spain, this Morten decided his fate by dealing a fatal wound to a young man called Jacob, twenty-two years old, in a petty quarrel at breakfast-time. According to the articles of war, the code enforced on ship-board, he was bound alive to the dead man and then cast overboard¹.

On the same voyage, but on another ship, another man called Olaf, Norwegian by birth, was killed by the thrust of a rapier by some inhabitant of Spain. The preceding winter this Olaf had struck me on the head with a tankard for no cause. In the same breath that he called me his dear brother he put out the light, seized the tankard and struck the top of my skull in the dark. It was fortunate for me that I laid

¹ The Naval regulations of 1582 (Secher, *Forordn.* II, pp. 243 ff.). § 31. If anyone kills another on board ship the living is bound to the dead and both are thrown overboard. This paragraph is repeated in later issues.

hands on a woman's roller for smoothing linen, with which I defended myself in the dark against the two of them, mine host and this Olaf, who had planned together to give me a sound beating for no cause, except for the former's unjust suspicion. The nurse, on the floor beside the cradle, thought I was dead, but God granted me the good fortune to escape other damage than what I have already mentioned from the cowardly rascal Olaf, who rewarded me, an innocent man, with evil for good. From these two men I received a wound, but from no others, save for a little cut close to my right eye from a soldier's sword, which I received in the dark.

Also one evening, as I was sitting in the house of a man called Svend, and was playing cards with three others, a stone was flung against the shutter put up at night to protect the window, so that the glass flew round our faces as we sat at the table. We snatched up our weapons with all speed, and dashed out after the band of persons who were passing the door, who were gentlefolks' servants. They fled as fast as they could, for they knew they had committed a deed for which their lives were forfeit¹. In the passage which runs under the archway at the German church² we got hold of one of their cloaks, in such fashion that it had to come with us, for the man had loosed the fastenings, as is customarily done, in order that the owner may not be seized nor laid hands on. This cloak we sold for twelve dollars. No one durst make complaint about it.

¹ Disturbances of the public peace were sometimes punished with great severity. Drunkenness was, however, considered a mitigating circumstance, and could always be pleaded.

² Owing to the large number of German settlers (mainly artisans) in Copenhagen in the time of Frederik II, the church of St Peter, which had for a short time been used as a foundry, was handed over for their use in 1586. The service was held in German by a German pastor. Before this the Germans had had the use of St Clara's church for a short time (see above p. 68). O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* pp. 80 ff.

CHAPTER X

WHILE the worthy young gentleman Finn Böðvarsson was still living in Copenhagen, he and I were once bidden out by a painter called Morten. His wife's name was Ellen. It was St Martin's Eve, which is the evening before St Martin's Day¹. This couple dealt well and honourably by us and invited us in love and friendship to stay there also through the night, rather than to stagger home very late² through the streets, and they added that we were like to meet drunken folk on that night. I was desirous of accepting their invitation, but nothing would suit my worthy comrade but to go home; and so it had to be. They gave us a small lantern to carry, with a tiny light.

We had proceeded to the strand on our homeward journey, and had reached the place called "Lækkerbidsken"³ or "Tavern-peep-in"; that is, a place where one can get food for money, as much or as little as one wishes. The couple who kept it were both German, the man's name was Jacob and his wife's Anna, and how I came to know them must be told later. Close by their house our light went out, and it was so dark that we could not see where the road lay along the shore. Finn went a little to one side, and before he was aware had fallen into a smack, which was undecked so that he fell on to large boulders lying at the bottom of the boat. But the

¹ St Martin's (Mortens) Eve, November 10, was celebrated with festivities in Denmark. Cp. Troels Lund, *Dagligt Liv*, vii, p. 259. In 1608 we find the nobleman Sivert Grubbe entering in his Journal: "Nov. 10. I took the evening meal with Breide Ranzow. We drank well in St Martin's honour, and held the Eve of his Festival with suitable merriment." (*Danske Magasin*, iv R., iv Bd. p. 29.)

² In 1598 the University Court had issued a printed regulation forbidding students to be out after 7 p.m. (O. Nielsen, *op. cit.* II, p. 223.)

³ Apparently Jón (who was certainly confused that night) has confused two taverns. Lækkerbidsken (The Dainty Morsel) was in Amagertorv, not by the shore, and its host from 1618-20 was Henrik Weber. "Tavern-peep-in" was presumably by the shore where Jón describes it. Cp. Bering Liisberg, in *Hist. Medd. om København*, vii (1919-20), p. 91.

blessed God granted him His grace, so that he was not injured, which we thought a great miracle.

Now we must tell how the man in charge of the smack awoke where he was lying in the stern cabin, and was sorely startled, for he thought we were quite another kind of persons; but in the politest language I proffered apology for the affair, assuring him it had happened with no ill intent, or otherwise than has just been explained, and requesting him to kindle a light because Finn's hat had fallen off. Finn refused to stand up until his hat was found, and he promised the man half a dollar if he found it. So now the fellow puts on his clothes unwillingly and grumblingly, while I stood on the quay and waited until I could get my comrade back again. But just at that moment up comes all the watch along the shore with their great lanterns, and swords and spears. They had just left the Town Hall to make their tour of all the streets of the town, as was required every midnight by custom and ordinance, that they might see and examine whether there were any persons drunken or disorderly to be found in the streets¹. When this skipper sees the watch coming, he calls out urgently that the good watch should come in haste and succour him, because two men had entered his vessel and were causing him much trouble. They hurry forward with all speed just as if something urgent were on hand, and my plea to the man to cease calling had no avail. I bade Finn stand up. He declared he would lie there until his hat was found, for that it had been purchased two days before for five dollars². The sergeant of the watch, Søren Tran³, orders his men to seize us and hold us fast. We had no weapons on

¹ The citizens either had to appear in turn in the watch, or to pay a suitable substitute, who could be obtained for eight skillings, except when the nights were long and cold, when up to ten skillings was paid. The patrolling watch consisted of fourteen to sixteen persons in all. *Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* iv, p. 769 (1620).

² It was an expensive hat. Only two months later (on Jan. 17, 1618) King Christian himself purchased a hat, and only paid four dollars for it (*Chr. IV's Journal, Nyt Hist. Tidskr.* iv, p. 25). In 1622 the nobleman Eske Brock bought eight hats, presumably livery hats for his servants, for three slette daler each. (*Danske Saml.* II R., 6 Bd. (1877-9), p. 18.)

³ In 1620 we find a "Seuerin Thranne," i.e. Søren Tran, stated to be in the King's service, as ale-drawer. *Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* iv, p. 772.

us on that occasion except one small knife, which I seized and defended myself with for a short time. One of them was slightly grazed by it; then they knocked it out of my hand with their spears, and seized me. A certain Anders, a weaver, who had been one year in the Arsenal and who recognized me, snatched and kept my knife. The sergeant of the watch bade them hold me fast, and strike me if I should fight. Those who held me suffered a good deal from the blows dealt by my elbows, many of them spitting blood. Then they looked for Finn, my dear comrade, hauled him upright and pulled him ashore, for the smack rode no higher than the quay. They also found the hat. But when Finn was got on land they found him heavy to hold, and unmanageable in his walk, for

At wrestling, most were not his match,
And lay struck down on the way,
The Danish men had made no catch,
Had night but yielded to day.

This battle lasted for quite an hour and a half. They tried obstinately to place us in a cellar called the Town Hall cellar¹, where prisoners are usually confined, but they found it a difficult job, for we put all our strength into defending ourselves and resisting. At one moment I had all but snatched the halberd out of the sergeant's hand by a sudden turn of the hand, for he prodded me uncomfortably with its end on my breast. Being clutched so firmly by many hands and held by my belt I could not manage to fall, but I was able to snatch the hilt and I wrenched it towards me so violently, that he only just missed a heavy fall. After that he became greatly incensed and bade his company give us a good drubbing. Later he asked us our names, me first, demanding what country I was of, and whom I served. I said he was as much bound to do homage to my master as I. He rejoined that even if I were in the royal service of the King, His Majesty would not have ordered me to be about so late. I said that I had done no harm at the outset, but that he had wrongfully

¹ This seems to have been the only place of confinement possessed by the city at this time. It was only used to confine arrested persons till and during their trial. Cp. Secher, in *Medd. om København*, I, pp. 333 ff.

fallen upon us with his company, which would be remembered against him. Then he asked Finn for his name, country or position, all of which Finn clearly repeated to him. He made as if he would not give us up. But Jacob, whom I mentioned before, and who with his wife Anna was up in his bed on the first floor, and had listened to the whole affair from the beginning—this Jacob at last opens his glass window¹ and shouts down to the master of the watch, bidding him let us go and thank God that matters had gone no further, for that he had done us open wrong; and he added that the law of the Arsenal and Castle² would deal with him sharply enough, as also the University Court³, because of Finn, who was a student. Our enemy lost heart considerably at this, and let us go free. We got home at last to my lodgings, which were close by in Vingaardsstræde, at the house of my good friend and trusty comrade Jón Halldórsson and his wife Christine Søren's daughter. She was of a Holstein family and her father was a minister. Jón wished that he had been near by, for then somebody would have licked the dust.

It so happened that this Søren Tran was later put into the great prison at Bremerholm, as I wrote before⁴.

There was in the town at that time one student amongst the others (they numbered at that time 100) who was called Michael, with the nickname Nordbagge⁵. This Michael and Søren Tran played tricks on each other at times at nights. When the watch went storming on its rounds through the streets in the city (as was mentioned before), Michael had collected a troop of the worst rogues and ragamuffins that he could pick out of the sailors and other workmen, and with

¹ Glazed windows were usual in Copenhagen at this time, but Jón mentions the glass because it was very uncommon in Iceland.

² The City of Copenhagen had no jurisdiction over the *personnel* of the Castle. Cp. Secher, *loc. cit.* p. 310.

³ The Consistorium or University Court had jurisdiction over all University students, and its own prison cellar for them, adjacent to the cellar where the Professors enjoyed their wine.

⁴ See above p. 42.

⁵ Nordbagge, Norwegian, a now obsolete term. The exact number of students at the University at this time is not known, but there were probably quite three times as many as Jón says.

this company frequently crossed the path of the sergeant of the watch and his men, who had to put up with it and let them go where they pleased. As Michael was fairly well-to-do he often entertained Søren and his company at feasts, and they were great boon-companions.

Next morning Finn went to Michael and set forth our adventures to him in the clearest fashion. Søren was summoned and afterwards I was fetched, and Michael prepared a great feast in his room. Thus the affair ended in jollity and merrymaking, and we became great friends henceforward.

NOW FOLLOWS HOW I BECAME ACQUAINTED
WITH JACOB, WHO KEPT AN EATING-HOUSE
AND INN DOWN BY THE SHORE

On one occasion an Icelander called Einar, from Eyjafjörð¹, and I had gone in there to take a light meal in the evening. We sat alone together at a little table by the window looking over the sea-shore, while Jacob with his many guests sat up at the main table. One chattering fellow, a master mason, sat up there with the others, and declared that he could describe the manners and customs of people in many countries, among which were the inhabitants of Iceland, who cut a poor figure in his text and its clumsy interpretation². But his hearers were readily hoodwinked and admired his talk. He was flattered and added to his stories until there was great mirth and no mourning up at the table. I asked Einar how long he could suffer the like. He said one must often hear such things about Iceland. I asked him if I could count on him, in case of need. He said he would not be such a fool. So I went up to the big table, and handed the landlord the payment for our meal. He took the money and thanked me. I stood right in front of the middle of the table and addressed the fellow who had spoken so contemptuously about this country, and had wound up by saying that its inhabitants

¹ In the north of Iceland.

² The nature of the slanders against Iceland can be judged from Arngrím Jónsson's refutation of Joachim Leo's verses published in Hamburg in the previous century. Cp. Hakluyt, *Principal Voyages*, vol. iv, pp. 1 ff., Eng. Translation, pp. 89 ff.

could not be human beings, but were rather the most contemptible beasts. I say to him: "Friend, I hear thou art acquainted with many countries and canst wonderfully describe them, and what seems not least strange to me, thou hast such certain knowledge of Iceland; now, hast thou sailed thither?" He asked God to preserve him from such a thing, saying Odin¹ might go thither, but not he. At that moment I deal him a couple of lusty boxes on the ear. Everyone is thunderstruck. Einar fled from the room, when he saw what was happening. But this fellow leapt across the table and thought to kill me instantly. We clutched each other. Some tried to pull me down, but the landlord forbade all to meddle between us. The upshot was that he was the undermost and took to bleeding somewhat at the nose, for he had received many a good blow. The landlord and his guests stood up from the table and pulled the fellow out, with torn collar and bloody nose, and they all said he had got his deserts. And the landlord promised that such a rogue and babbler should never darken his door again, and declared that I deserved praise for having set myself to deal with him, in my zeal for my country. And after that I was always a welcome guest there when I chanced to pass that way.

Now I must tell of the service and ordering of the Arsenal, and of the chief happenings out of the many which befell there.

¹ An Icelandic euphemism for the devil.

CHAPTER XI

RELATING WHAT BEFELL ME AT THE GATE WHERE I STOOD SENTRY, THROUGH WHICH GATE THERE IS AN ENTRANCE TO THE PROVISION-STORE. IN THESE BUILDINGS THERE IS ALL THE FOOD INTENDED FOR THE KING'S CASTLE AND ALL THE KING'S PEOPLE: THEY ARE OF THE SAME DIMENSIONS AS THE ARSENAL; VIZ. A HUNDRED FATHOMS LONG¹, AND THERE IS A HUNDRED FATHOMS SPACE BETWEEN THEM AND A HARBOUR WHEREIN LAY ELEVEN OF THE SMALLEST MEN-OF-WAR, WHICH WERE GUARDED ALL DAY

WE must begin by relating that the King appoints one special official over this provision-store. This man is called Master of the Stores, and was at that time Claus Michelborg². After his death came Mads Davidsen³. He had secretaries and assistants under him, and it was common talk that both the Master and his assistants would take to themselves somewhat as pocket-money out of these goods, as

¹ The Arsenal and Provision-store are the same length: 520 ft., but whereas the Arsenal is 77½ ft. broad, the Provision-store is only 55 ft. broad. The harbour between them was begun in 1603, and excavated to a depth of 14 ft. It was finished in 1614, together with the canal by which vessels entered, which was 57 ft. wide. The harbour, buildings, and canal can all be very clearly seen in Wijk's view of Copenhagen. Cp. E. Madsen, in *Hist. Medd. om København*, III (1911), pp. 161 ff. In 1629 a French visitor to Copenhagen says that in the King's private dock ships can be fitted out without any one's being the wiser, the harbour being so well screened. (Bruun, *Kjøbenhavn*, I, p. 489.) This harbour existed until fifty years ago. (Lind, p. 350; note to p. 191.) Its site is now occupied by the garden of the Royal Library.

² Claus Mecklenburg, a German, was Clerk of the Stores from 1598 to 1619, and was a well-to-do citizen. (Lind, *op. cit.* pp. 106 f. [R.C.])

³ Mads Davidsen became Clerk of the Stores in 1621, and in 1622 or 1623 the King writes that "the stores deteriorate daily, so soon as my back is turned, and that M. D. is to be warned once more." In 1624 Mads, "ex-Clerk of the Stores," is ordered to delay no longer in producing his accounts, or the King would take other measures to extract them from him (*loc. cit.*). From Jón Ólafsson's account it would appear that "other measures" were taken.

opportunity offered. For this crime Matthew Davidsen was twice imprisoned in the Blue Tower¹ and threatened with death, but was pardoned. Further, it frequently happened that we had cause of complaint against them for mulcting us of our food, and for this reason Grabow, the Chief Master of the Arsenal, was commanded by the King to set a new watch from the Arsenal, by this gateway which lay north-west of the Arsenal. The best men were to be selected for this post, especially those who could read and write. Every day two men were to stand sentry there at once, so that it might never be unguarded, even if one of them left it. These two were to write down all that came out and was carried through the gateway, and were to deliver up this register every evening at the Arsenal office.

It so happened once, about three o'clock, that my comrade, by name Peter Snur, had gone to fetch our evening rations, and on the other hand matters fell out so that a certain skipper from Bleking² arrived with wood for the brewery³ and baking-house⁴, and was about to issue from this gate on his way to the city. There were two vintners in the yard, young fellows: Niels Hasenbart, son of Doctor Jacob⁵ who had been the King's body-physician and who had died two

¹ The Blue Tower of the Castle. Cp. p. 174 *infra*.

² Bleking, one of the Danish provinces in Sweden.

³ The King's brewery still stands at the corner of Christiansgade and the canal. [R.C.]

⁴ A large building which for many years served as an artillery-magazine, on the site of which the Royal Library now stands, was originally planned to include a baking-house. [R.C.]

⁵ Dr Jacob Hasebart or Hasenbart, Christian IV's body-physician from 1593-1607. He was born in Lübeck, but his father migrated to Copenhagen on becoming body-physician to Christian III. Jacob studied in Germany, Italy and England, and in 1591 after his return to Copenhagen, married Kirstine (Christine), daughter of Niels Paaske, who had been First Clerk of the Arsenal, owned property in Copenhagen, and had been called by the author Vedel a man "dear to God and the Muses." Jacob, to whom the King seems to have been personally attached, died in 1607, leaving seven children, of whom one became Professor of Mathematics in the University, and later Dean of Our Lady's Church, another Rector of Herlufsholm School and later Bishop of Viborg. (V. Ingerslev, *Danmarks Læger og Lægevesen*, Deel 1, pp. 294 ff.) These biographical details enable us to understand by what influence the young Niels was released from prison. The position of body-physician to the King was much respected and highly paid. In 1647 the body-physician had free quarters

years previously while his excellent wife, Christine, still survived and was very rich. This young man Niels was very youthful in his ways and a dare-devil, so that his dear mother was often terrified for him. The two young men, the other being Laurids, a weaver's son, nourished a special hatred against all those who stood in the gateway and, by the stern command of the King, prevented anything being carried away.

Now we must relate that these two vintners took the skipper down into the wine-cellar in the yard, where they were daily occupied in tapping into two-tun casks the wine intended for the first journey to India, which was in preparation in 1618. They made this man drunk with wine, and then put into his hand a piece of wood about the size of a table-leg, to see if I would give him leave to issue out of the gate with it. For if I gave him leave, it was arranged between them to charge me, and so bring me to misfortune and death. But, on the other hand, if I prevented him from leaving with the piece of wood, they had incited the man to carry the wood out in my despite, and if it came to blows and if he were to get the worser side, they promised him their help. This plan of theirs worked according to their wish. The fellow came along with the piece of wood and greeted me. I answered in a friendly manner, and asked where he meant to go with that piece of wood. He declared he was not bound to give an account of that, and yet he said he intended to take it away. I told him that it was not permitted to take it away. He said he cared little for that prohibition and he declared he would take it out without leave from me or anyone. I said, "My good fellow, do not wilfully get thyself into misfortune, nor me either"; but it was of no avail. I placed myself in the way, so that he should not get out. He swung his piece of wood to strike me; I warded off the blow with my linstock and then struck the log out of his hands. Thereupon he made ready to fall upon me: I dissuade him from such audacity, and tell him what is at stake, namely, his life. He pays no heed

in the Castle, a Court costume, and pay or ecclesiastical preferment worth a thousand dollars. (Ingerslev, *op. cit.* 1, p. 289.)

to my warnings, and attacks me as best he can, until I gave him some blows with my halberd. Then there came upon the scene these two vintners with their large poles. There was a great uproar and I broke two halberds on them, namely, the linstock and the barbed halberd¹ which stood there and which we were permitted to use for our defence in case of need. Afterwards these three men seized me and struck me till I was bloody. At this moment my comrade Peter Snur came running, calling out to them to let me go. Then they fled, but I went up to the Castle to find the Chancellor and Grabow, who were startled to see me all bloody and promised that punishment should be meted out.

Two days went by before Grabow spoke to the King about it. The King said it would have been better if I had killed one of them, and that the enquiry should be held in the Chancery² before the Chancellor, which was done. The Chancellor told this Niels in what peril he stood, for he and his companion had forfeited their lives. It was ordered that they should be imprisoned in the Blue Tower, and await the King's pleasure. Grabow did not dare do other than put me in with them, on account of the hatred of all those on the other side, who considered that Grabow had caused the new watch to be set in the first instance. Their mother also came to them with sore grief in the night and various of the townsfolk with her. The next morning we were let out, and went to the house of his mother, Christine, the Doctor's widow, who greeted us kindly, and prepared a great feast; and we settled among ourselves that we should henceforth be as brothers. She gave me the value of three dollars; and thus I parted from them in all affection. She said that I should have a measure of ale whenever I passed by. Three days afterwards a warrant of outlawry was pronounced, by royal command, over Niels and his followers, and for that reason I never saw Niels Hasenbart again, and conclude the tale herewith.

¹ Barbed halberd: Jón uses the word *knefelsspjót*, i.e. Dan. *knevelspyd*.

² This is an interesting glimpse into the workings of the Castle Court (*Gaardsret*) of which little is known in Christian IV's time. In 1652 the Court was composed of twelve noblemen employed in the Chancery and the Court: cp. Secher, in *Hist. Medd.* i, p. 310.

Two master-craftsmen from Italy came to visit the King. One of them, who came first, cast a bronze ox, which was to be a water-vessel for Frederiksborg¹, so that when gentlemen came from foreign parts, this bronze ox was to be their washing-basin: water was to run into their hands from its mouth and nostrils. The other one was called Samuel². Eight of us were chosen by the King for this man's service, and to act throughout one night as he bade us. He promised us good drink and money if all went well. He took us to where the casting was done, and feasted us well with ale and food in the evening. He had to deal with a great lump of clay, and bade us stamp round this lump of clay the fine soil which was used in the moulds in which the guns were cast³. This clay mould was about as high as myself, and the soil was filled in round it to the top. This was our work through the night. He bade us join him in prayer that God would give him a good issue for his toil. This we did, with such feeble powers as we had. Meanwhile the bronze, or whatever was intended to fill in the mould, was in the crucible, which was banked up, having been placed in it about six o'clock in the evening to melt, with a furnace kindled under it which burnt all that night until six o'clock of the morning. About that time the King himself came riding out, and enquired how the work was toward. The master said that the bronze would be melted shortly. The King dismounted and went

¹ In 1614 Nicolaus Schwabe, of Dresden, Master of the Mint in Copenhagen, was sent by Christian IV to Augsburg or Innsbrück to find a craftsman to make the bronze figures for the fountain at Frederiksborg. In 1615 he went to Prague and on Oct. 26, 1616, made an agreement with Adrian de Vries for the construction of a fountain (the so-called Neptune fountain) for Frederiksborg, which was to cost 10,000 rixdollars. Adrian de Vries had been several years in Italy, and there is mention of "Peter the Italian," whose journey from Italy was paid in 1615, and who was still in Copenhagen in 1622. The ox is nowhere described, but there were a number of figures for each fountain. The Neptune fountain was later carried off by the Swedes. Cp. F. R. Friis, *Samlinger*, pp. 258 ff.

² The name of the craftsman who cast the figures for the "lion" fountain, which Jón here describes, is not otherwise known.

³ The casting probably took place at the royal gun-foundry. In 1609 we find a carver given a special place in the foundry at Kronborg in order that he may cast in metal a figure he has carved in wood. Friis, *op. cit.* p. 256.

into the furnace-room and to the crucible, poked with his staff at the melted bronze, and thought it was fully melted. The other said there must be a little waiting before it was ready to run off. But the King was of a contrary opinion, and went to the cock on the channel, turned it, and let the bronze run out into the channel leading to the mould, and then went out, mounted his horse and continued his ride to Frederiksborg, which is four (Danish) miles from Copenhagen¹. But when the master saw that the full weight of bronze did not all run into the mould, he became nearly frantic, pacing up and down in grievous torment of mind, wishing himself dead, and turning his enmity and wrath against us, for he attributed the disaster to our feebleness in prayer, whereby we were deprived of all his esteem, his feasting and his drink-money. But about three o'clock his grief lightened somewhat, and he bade us sweep away from the mound the soft soil which had been used for three years, and afterwards each take a hammer to shatter the clay mould entirely in pieces. When we had done this there appeared before us a maiden seated on a chair, with curling hair falling around her. To her left was a long-necked swan bestridden by a boy with flowing hair. But the bronze which did not reach the mould and which had run to waste in the soil was missing from the left breast of the maiden and of the boy, and therefore it was needful to make a new mould with great toil, for which he employed three apprentices at high wages. He successfully repaired the figure, and received a great payment from the King. This piece of work was thought a masterpiece by the King and all gentlefolk who saw it, whether native or foreign, and it stands now to this day at Frederiksborg¹. And so we can conclude our tale concerning it.

¹ Frederiksborg Castle is built on three small islands in the lake called Castle Lake, in one of the most beautiful parts of Sjælland. Frederik III built a small castle on this site, which Christian IV pulled down (1602) and rebuilt, continually adding improvements, so that the castle was not really finished till 1621.

CHAPTER XII

HERE IS TOLD OF AN ITALIAN MASTER WHO TRAVELLED WIDELY ABOUT THE WORLD, AND WHO CARRIED ABOUT THE MODEL OF A CASTLE WHICH HE COULD SCREW ASUNDER AND PUT TOGETHER ACCORDING TO THE NEEDS OF HIS JOURNEY

IN the summer, in August, there came a master Michell¹ to Copenhagen from Italy. He had travelled far and wide in Christian countries, and had with him a model of a castle with a wonderful tower rising above it, in the which were eighteen bells, each with its own note, tuned to a chime according to the will of the master and the arrangement of the clock-work. Two little steel hammers struck upon each bell every time while their charming melody lasted. Up in the tower were doors which opened of themselves as often as the clock had struck a full stroke, as the day wore on. Outside the doors were two angels, motionless to look upon between the strokes of the clock. But when it struck and the doors burst open, then each of these angels sprang up and put his clarion to his mouth. And every time this happened it seemed as if Christ appeared in His actual human form, so that no unlearned person could regard it otherwise, and it seemed that He looked to both sides and stretched out His hands and invited all to come to Him. This lasted as long as the bells played the four verses of whatever hymn the master had set them to in four voices, so that it was a great joy to listen to it. Many women shed tears of joy both over the music and over the fair likeness of Christ's bodily form. But when the four verses were ended the figure of Christ withdrew slowly; the doors closed again, the angels seated themselves and straightway laid aside the clarions from their mouths. And for the whole hour all this lay as in a trance. Nor was the tower part of the model empty of interest, for

¹ Nothing is known of this man.

as soon as the doors of heaven (as they were meant to be) closed again and the figure of Christ disappeared, then doors lower down in the castle were opened, and at once there issued forth a coal-black fiend with crooked claws, hooked nose, twisted locks, and horrid to look upon. It seemed as if he clawed with his talons, eager to snatch everything, but as soon as the hour was over and the upper doors burst open and the figure of Christ appeared the fiend fled within; and here we may end our description of this masterpiece¹.

Nearly all the people in the town went to see the master and to look at this masterly piece of workmanship, at which everyone was amazed.

It happened one Monday morning that nearly everybody in Bremerholm had come thither to see this, and were found there by the Statholder² and the Admiral of the Holm³, who were exceedingly angry and forbade the master to sojourn there any longer. He remained for six weeks in a house outside the West Gate of the city.

A certain surgeon called Heinrich once came to the town: he offered to cure any new wound in twelve hours, that is to say one day, and similarly any stab-thrust in any of the limbs, no matter which.

One doctor, by name Jon, born in Norway, who had travelled widely about the world, came one summer to Copenhagen and stayed there for nearly a fortnight. He set up three tent-booths in the town market-place, called Amagertorv⁴, and within on shelves stood many jars with all kinds of precious salves and drugs for all kinds of injuries of men, women and children. He had helped many with his medicinal skill on his journeys in the world. He had cured Kings' daughters,

¹ This masterpiece cannot be identified, unless it is a clock which the King bought from one Hans Montz on Oct. 29, 1618, paying the large sum of 1800 dollars for it and a jewel. (Chr. IV's Journal, in *Nyt Hist. Tidsskr.* iv, p. 245.) The King seems to have been much interested in clocks with complicated mechanism.

² Breide Rantzau was Statholder of Copenhagen till January 1618.

³ Sten Villumsen Rosenvinge, a noble, was Admiral of the Island (Bremerholm) from 1613-30. In 1618, however, he was suspended for a short time for carelessness in his supervision (Lind, p. 60). Cp. p. 188 *infra*.

⁴ Amagertorv, see map.

Dukes, Counts, noblemen, townsmen and farmers, their sons and servants of every internal and external injury, which he had cut open and gently treated in various ways with his surpassing surgical skill, in testimony whereof he had letters from each and all, with seals hanging from them, notifying for what great payment he had cured this and that disease, and how quickly, and what he had done for God's sake, without payment, to poor creatures, and from each letter hung the dire evil which he had skilfully extracted from each particular patient. He had a friendly appearance, gave himself no airs, and was most kindly in his dealings and speech with every man whether of high or low degree. He had five apprentices and one young lad. He spoke only a little of his native language, and was fifty years old. So far as my memory serves, his cures failed no one in the town. I saw him perform one masterpiece in a moment, on Højbro one evening, on a woman who begged him for a moment's time. She had a bad tooth, from which she suffered great discomfort, pain and affliction. And as he was about to cross the bridge on his way to the Castle, this woman spoke to him. He replied gently, and at once opened his box of salves, and anointed her cheek at the place over the pain. He rubbed it in firmly with his own hand, and took a wide yellow cylinder and placed it between her teeth, and bade her blow into it as hard as she could manage, and when she did so, the bad tooth fell out of her mouth through the cylinder without any pain, or sensible discomfort. He would receive no payment, but asked her to give a few pence to his little lad, which she gladly did.

Those doctors, who are called *quacksalvers*¹, came twice to Copenhagen while I was there. These have their servants shouting along the shore that doctors are come who can cure

¹ Doctors, "Medici approbati," were not plentiful in Denmark at this time, and were practically only resorted to by the upper classes. The common people consulted quacksalvers, finding doctors too expensive. A doctor writes to Ole Worm that in Laaland and Falster he "can only expect practice among the nobles: the circumstances of the common people in these parts are not such that they can keep a doctor fed, and they cure every disease with Rostock ale." Ingerslev, *op. cit.* I, p. 315.

all kinds of diseases within twenty-four hours, and they provide each man with an ointment accompanied by a paper directing its use, to be employed as required.

Jugglers, as they are called, came there sometimes, men who had wandered widely through the world. Some walked on wooden stilts, so that they were as tall as houses. They bring about many illusions, for instance, they throw a lock on a man's mouth, so that he cannot speak; they dance on a rope (but I have not seen this) stretched from the high tower of the cathedral in Copenhagen to the tower of the Town Hall, and on this rope, many fathoms high above the earth, they walked and danced, and performed many antics¹. Those persons also came to Copenhagen who performed comedies and plays full of adventure taken from history. Amongst other things, one troupe played a comedy of when the three Wise Men from the East came to offer the child Jesus the three offerings; and they have different garments according to their parts, so that one is Joseph, another Mary, a third is the child, and there are the three wise men. The whole is performed in a stately manner. Many are the good gifts given by God. And now, for the time, I will leave these matters and turn to other events which occurred from the time I first came to Copenhagen till that of my departure thence.

¹ Christian IV, then nine years old, mentions in his Journal under June, 1594, that a rope-dancer walked a rope from the top of the Blue Tower (in the Castle) to the King's herb-garden in Bremerholm. (*Museum*, I, 1892, p. 54.) In 1586 a "wonderful artist from Switzerland" played tricks on a rope stretched from the tower of Our Lady's church to the Town Hall. (Liisberg, *Kjøbenhavn*, p. 179.)

CHAPTER XIII

TELLING OF THOSE GENTLEFOLKS AND ENVOYS WHO CAME TO COPENHAGEN FROM OTHER LANDS TO VISIT OUR GRACIOUS LORD AND KING CHRISTIAN IV, MORE ESPECIALLY THE BISHOP OF BREMEN, WHO CHOSE AND SELECTED FOR HIS BISHOPRIC THE THIRD SON OF KING CHRISTIAN, NAMELY DUKE FREDERIK, NOW OUR GRACIOUS LORD AND KING OVER DENMARK AND NORWAY

DURING the summer of 1618 the Bishop of Bremen¹ came to Denmark to visit the King, with the intention of choosing as his successor to the bishopric the King's son, Frederik², the youngest of the three, the others being Duke Christian and Duke Ulrik. This Bishop had reached his eightieth year and had eighty men with him. Some days before the Bishop came to Copenhagen the King's brother, Duke Ulrik³, came to visit the King in order to welcome the Bishop together with the King, the young lords his sons, the Council and all the nobility of Denmark. This Duke Ulrik was Bishop of Pomerania, and had his seat at Bützow, sixteen miles from Rostock. And when the day arrived that the Bishop should reach Copenhagen on his visit to the King, that morning the King made ready to ride out in magnificent array, with his brother and the three young gentlemen. Their dapple-grey horses were choicely caparisoned with splendid

¹ It was not the Archbishop of Bremen, but Philip Sigismund, Duke of Brunswick and Bishop of Verden and Osnabrück, who came to Copenhagen on May 22, 1618. [R.C.]

² The youngest of Christian IV's three sons was Ulrik, b. 1611; Duke Frederik was the second, b. 1609; and Prince Christian, the heir-apparent, the eldest, b. 1603. Frederik became co-adjutor to the Archbishop of Bremen in 1621, and later to the Bishop of Verden. In 1623 he became Bishop of Verden, and in 1624 co-adjutor to the Bishop of Halberstadt. His brother Ulrik in 1624 succeeded his uncle of the same name as Bishop of Schwerin. (Cp. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, iv, pp. 161 ff.) See Introduction.

³ Duke Ulrik was Bishop of Slesvig (from 1602) and Bishop of Schwerin (1603). His seat was at Bützow.

saddles, set with gold and precious stones and pearls, worth several thousand florins. They had cloths which reached from their hind quarters and down to their hocks, handsomely fashioned and set with jewels and precious pearls. The bridles were all inlaid and set with gold beads and jewels, also of great value. Each horse bore between his ears a silver feather or crest-plume, gilded as to the upper half and screwed down to the harness, so that it stood erect.

The King was clad in magnificent garments of gold cloth, so likewise the other four, all with gold chains. Many splendid feathers, drooping to their shoulders, encircled their hats. They wore boots on their feet¹ and gilded spurs. They were followed by the Chancellor and many of the Council and nobility.

The King proceeded eight miles out of Copenhagen to meet the Bishop, with eleven battalions of soldiers, and under each standard were at least 300 or 400, 500 or 700 in some. A company of cavalry accompanied them: it contained 900 men, and in the other company were 350. We had a green standard of pure silk on which a gold mortar was painted. The name of our standard-bearer was Søren Gedling, a tall and stout man, very skilled at bearing the standard. Its staff was five or six ells² long. The King had pavilions or splendid tents set up about two miles nearer the town than the place of meeting. They were in form like a nobleman's castle, with a tower, and a fence all round. The whole of them was of linen, and gleamed as white to the eye as new-fallen unsoiled snow.

Close to a small heath³ the King waited a long while for the Bishop—till long past midday—and he bade some of our men ride a spirited chestnut, which was said to be Icelandic, up on to the heath to see when the Bishop was coming. Whosoever first caught sight of him was to be given a garment which the King promised to whomsoever the luck should fall on. Five of us were chosen by the King for this duty, but

¹ Boots were a rarity in Iceland then as now.

² The Icelandic ell of this period was the Hanseatic towns' ell of 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches; cp. Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Icel. Eng. Dict.* s.v. *alin*.

³ Valby. [R.C.]

the luck came to one called Jens, who at once made a signal with his kerchief, as had been arranged beforehand. The King and all the gentry who were riding mounted their horses and seated themselves in their saddles. The King was foremost: then Duke Ulrik and one of the Council: then the three young gentlemen, the Crown Prince Duke Christian, and Duke Frederik and Duke Ulrik: then the Chancellor and the Statholder with the nobility and gentry. And as the Bishop approached somewhat, the King and all his noble following rode to meet him. And when there was about forty fathoms space between them, the King and all his company dismounted, and the Bishop similarly, and walked to meet each other, with courteous bearing, humility and reverence, and each bowed to the other, thrice to the right and thrice to the left side, and at the same time the guns suddenly fired off salutes so that for a long while men saw nothing but the smoke and dust raised by all the firing. Three salvoes were fired from the bronze guns when they met, and again when they remounted, and for the third time as they rode past us to the tents. Twenty-four trumpeters blew their gilded trumpets. And so the Bishop went with the King and the other gentlefolks into the pavilion for a meal and great banquet.

This day was unusually hot, with clear air. No one might swerve out of his ranks under the severest penalties. I was very weary that day, having but just risen from an attack of ague. A certain Michael took pity on me and left the ranks, saying he did not fear what should follow. He was one of the soldiers who served in the Castle and had sentry duty in the Castle yard and at the Castle gate. He took his storm-cap¹ and went to the fence round the tents and had it filled with that wine which is called *lutindrang*², for he was well known to the Court servants; and he brought it to me where I stood in the ranks. This displeased his comrade Thorkild, nicknamed the Tailor, another soldier, so that both snatched

¹ The storm cap was of metal, cp. Blom, p. 242 and p. 11.

² Wine with honey, cinnamon and nutmeg added. (N. Jacobsen, in *Dansk Maanedsskrift*, 1866, p. 42.)

their weapons but were speedily separated before our betters, who were riding round with their lances, became aware of it. The captain who commanded our troop was called Antonius, a Spaniard, an elderly man and an excellent, and always kind to me. He was the first man who instructed me in military matters, which he did in the kindest fashion. He was acquainted with almost all knightly arts and sports, in the which he instructed two of the King's illegitimate sons¹.

In the King's pavilion were two choirs composed of twenty-four trumpeters, twelve instrumentalists who played the sackbut, shawm and cromorne, and a third company of twelve singers. All the time that the royal party remained in the tents the music continued in these three styles which succeeded one another in such fashion that now the trumpets were blown, now the other instruments, and at whiles the singers raised their noble harmonies for four voices².

This lasted nigh upon three hours, and when it was ended, all the companies were warned what to do. There was a din and the beating of drums through all the companies, of which there were thirteen besides the company of citizens, who were then 1800 in number, sworn citizens³, who stood in ranks on each side of the road outside the Western Gate, and their divided ranks reached right out towards the plain, as far as their numbers would allow; and between these ranks all the gentry rode. This citizen troop was all richly arrayed and accoutred, in uniforms of various hues and colours, with gilded rosettes on their shoes and embroidered garters and gold laces to their silken clothes and gold hat-bands and

¹ At this time the King had only two illegitimate sons: Christian Ulrik Gyldenløve (1611-40) and Hans Ulrik Gyldenløve (1615-45). [R.C.]

² Christian IV's orchestra was probably the best in Europe. He was passionately fond of music, and did much to encourage it in his kingdom. He imported musicians from Italy, England, Poland, Germany and the Netherlands and sent native musicians to study abroad—one in England and another in Germany. *Danmarks Riges Hist.*, p. 84, and A. Hammerich, *Musiken ved Christian IV's Hof*; Rørdam, *Hist. Saml. og Studier*, II, pp. 167 ff. On June 14 of this year, we find him noting a payment of 100 dollars to the trumpeters, evidently for their services on this occasion. (*Nyt Hist. Tidskr.* IV, p. 259.)

³ The citizen militia had by this time ceased to be of much military value, and the armies of Christian IV and his predecessors were almost entirely composed of paid soldiers enlisted abroad. See *n.i.*, p. 103 *infra*. But evidently the citizen soldiers had their uses on such an occasion as this.

handsome feathers round the crowns of their hats. Some had choicely decorated sword-belts, and others sword-belts of silk from which hung enamelled swords. They also had superb muskets, fair to look upon, enamelled like the swords, the butt-ends frequently inlaid with ivory and fine bone. When the royal party left the tents, they all mounted their horses, and there was firing everywhere and afterwards trumpeting. Then the soldiers filed past them where they sat on horseback, and then they rode home to the city, first through the ranks of the citizens, who fired salvoes right up to the town walls. But when they had nearly passed through the town gate, they found a cuirassed group of citizens on either side that stretched right through the town to Højbro. And when they reached this point, gentlefolks in enamelled armour lined the Castle yard. There they dismounted and went up to the Castle hall where great feasting and banqueting soon followed.

In the Castle square there ensued much merrymaking, for the King's kettle-drummers struck their instruments and the twenty-four trumpeters blew their clarions to call men to table. Then four instrumentalists played the trombone in the Castle tower. And so this day wore on to evening.

The following day a tent, a very large one made of a huge sail, was set up in the Castle square. It was tarred on the outside and moss strewn over it. At times it was called Hell and at times the Mountain. Here was acted a comedy about the most impious tyrants, the enemies of God and of all Christendom¹. They were driven into this place of punishment by a man in the likeness of a devil². Within this Mountain were all kinds of excellent wines and meats, and those persons who acted these tyrants were honourably received there and feasted. Our Nicolaus Helvaderus³ had to go

¹ The tragedy is lost: but its title bears out Jón's description. It is "a tragedy about 2 cruel tyrants and bloodhoundlike Regents, who persecute God's church and people."

² Cp. the contemporary cut of devils driving ladies into the jaws of a monster, from the festivities at the time of Prince Christian's wedding (1634). The drawing is reproduced in Lüsberg, *København*, p. 234.

³ Nicolaus Helvaderus, or Niels Helvad (1564-1634), appointed royal astrologer in 1616, and the author of the play acted on this occasion, was a characteristic figure in the Copenhagen of his day. "Gay, witty, and

in too, weeping aloud, on a wheelbarrow, and the King sent him the value of sixteen dollars in gold.

Great fireworks were sent off one night, nobody being harmed by them. This was done to honour the Bishop, but the mode of it would take too long to describe. The Bishop gave us royal gunners 500 dollars, and we had to give them back, because the King did not wish that he should be put to a penny's expense in his dominions, wheresoever he should go. In place of that money the King gave us twenty-four barrels of ale, of the kind called King's ale.

The King displayed all his magnificence to the Bishop, both within the town and without, in the Castle, Arsenal, city, in his pleasure-garden, at Kronborg and Frederiksborg. And wherever he travelled within these limits, Duke Frederik was always with him, lying on his bosom, he who is now our lord King and was then in his fifteenth year¹.

After a fortnight's time, the Bishop set forth on his departure from Denmark, and he and the King parted in all joy, love and friendship, and he received at the King's hands noble and generous gifts at parting. Duke Frederik accompanied him on his journey as far as the royal territories extended, and they parted with gracious courtesy².

There is much which happened while the Bishop sojourned in Copenhagen which I have forgotten to mention, especially about the fireworks which were fired off in the Castle square, and also how the King gave the Bishop a banquet in the fleet, and there, but not again, did I see our King made merry by wine, though with all dignity, self-control and honour³.

pleasant to deal with, he secured himself friends and well-wishers in all classes." Rørdam, *Hist. Saml. og Stud.* 4 Bd. (1902), p. 422. He wrote books in the vernacular. Jón probably calls him "our" because of his pamphlet on an earthquake in Iceland, published in 1627.

¹ Fortunately for the Bishop, Frederik was at this time only nine years old.

² The nobleman Sivert Grubbe describes the episode from another point of view: "May 22: the Bishop of Osnabrück came to Copenhagen. He was received with royal honours outside the town with the whole of the Scanian, Sjælland and Halland cavalry....It was a great show, not without very considerable expense for the King and the nobility." (*Danske Magasin*, iv R., 4 Bd. p. 49.)

³ See Introduction.

When the company left the fleet at Bremerholm by those gates which lead into the town, one of the Bishop's companions, very drunk and confused with liquor, was deserted by his comrades, for they also were very drunk, chiefly on account of the open-handedness with which the King's servants served them, according to the royal will. I found this man lying forsaken by his companions, and with great toil I got him into the house of a skipper, a short distance from the gate mentioned before. The King had recently had these houses erected for skippers and chief boatswains who lived in them rent free. They were built in rows on the flat ground¹.

The skipper's wife was somewhat short with us at first, but my courteous address softened her mood, and I explained to her what would be the consequences unless she was more heedful. I promised her payment for her trouble and she made up a comfortable bed. The skipper was not at home. In the morning I called there and the man was not yet up. He enquired of the woman who had helped him thither. She said that the doer of that deed was not far off, and I made my appearance. He asked me my name and family. I answered him as far as I could and so much as was pertinent. He made much of this affair and praised it in the handsomest language and with good wishes more than the action deserved, as far as I was concerned. He wanted to take me to the company of his friends, which I durst not do, for I was, as always, bound with my other companions to hold myself in readiness for orders at the Arsenal. And when he parted from me, which he did in friendship, he gave me two dollars, a kerchief and a collar. I handed over one of the dollars to the housewife and had much profit from it in her frequent hospitality. The skipper, whose name was Laurids, thanked me warmly when we met.

¹ This does not refer to the "Nyboder" which were first built after 1630, but to a row of houses the King had built [in 1618-19] for his naval officers and other officials of the fleet, on the site of the old herb-garden which can still be seen in Wijk's view. The usual name for these skippers' cottages was "the numbers by the Holm Church," because until 1771 they were the only numbered houses in the city. The gateway here spoken of, which led over Holmens Kanal, excavated by Christian IV, can also be seen in Wijk's view. [R.C.]

CHAPTER XIV

THE next summer it happened, as usual, that a session of the High Court of Justice was held at the Castle in Copenhagen¹, and according to custom the Council and nobility of Denmark repaired thither, so that one could look on many a fine noble with his noble lady and daughters, and the servants who accompanied them. Each of the seniors has his own house², where he lodges during his stay in the town. Amongst other gentlemen of the Council was Manderup Parsberg³, a very fine man, at that time advanced in years. He ordinarily kept seven serving-men, of whom four were sword-bearers bearing one rapier in a belt on the left side, and three more under the left arm. This Manderup had his

¹ This must have been in the preceding autumn, October, 1617, when a Council was held at Copenhagen Castle, Manderup Parsberg and thirteen other members of the Council being present. In 1618 there was no Council in Copenhagen: in 1619 there was to have been one in May, but it was held in Antvorskov Castle instead, owing to the plague then raging in Copenhagen. In 1621 there was a Herredag, Session of the High Court, in Copenhagen, at which Manderup Parsberg was present. (Cp. Erslev, *Rigsraadets Hist. i Kr. IV's Tid*, pp. 229 ff., 251, 315.) The chief occasion for the assembling of nobles in Copenhagen was the *Herredag*, here translated High Court of Justice, the solemn session of the Council of State for judicial purposes, the King and the members of Council constituting the Court. It was in theory annual, but there was none in Copenhagen in 1617, 1618 and 1620. The Council of State consisted of from nine to twenty-two nobles, without whose consent the King could not levy taxes, issue export prohibitions, or declare war. The administration of justice was largely in the hands of the Council. No other class had permanent representation. (Cp. Erslev, *op. cit.* Bd. III, pp. 574 ff., and *Hist. Tidsskr.* VII R., 5 Bd. pp. 365 ff.)

² Many of the wealthier nobles had houses in Copenhagen.

³ Manderup Parsberg, of Hagesholm (1546?–1625), one of Christian IV's most trusted men, had been a member of the Council since 1580, and came to hold many important posts and great fiefs. He married twice, his second wife being Anna Brahe, here mentioned, who was thirty years his junior (b. 1578; d. 1633) [R.C.]. This marriage had taken place in 1616. Manderup retired from the Council in 1622. The Danish Parsberg family was a branch of an ancient Bavarian family of the same name, Manderup's grandfather having settled in Denmark in the 15th century. (Cp. *Danmarks Adels Aarbog*, XXIV (1907), pp. 349 ff.)

castle in Jutland and a great fief¹, but his house in Copenhagen was over against the East Gate².

It so happened that his cook, a young man of the name of Herman, fell ill one day as he was going out of the East Gate into the suburb which lay outside it, as in various places round the town. He went out in dark clothing, but came back in red and had become a lunatic. He ran up into the gentlefolk's hall or dining-room, as it is called, and attacked chiefly his lord or his noble lady with a drawn sword. By God's grace he did no harm, but his lord was filled with dread and anxiety. They sent out the woman who attended to their linen and asked her to find a man both honest and fearless, who would undertake to keep guard over the fellow for one night or more if it should be needed.

This woman, Elizabeth by name, went to my lodging, and as I was not entirely unknown to her, she asked me very pressingly to come with her and keep watch one night over this fellow, in return for payment and good reward. After a long time I yielded to her, though very loath. And when we got there she went to the lady and said that she had found a man. The lady at once left the dining-hall and came to see me with gentle greeting and begged me in kindly fashion to hold faithful watch over her dear servant Herman; and she courteously asks my family and name, and whom I serve. When this has all been declared to her, she says I am welcome to ale and food. I thanked her as best I could and said I was not my own master. She thanked God that I served his Gracious Majesty, for she said that she could take his men, even if she needed as many as ten³. I said that leave must be asked at the Arsenal. She promises this, and asks further who our captain is. I say, Adolph Frederik Grabow. She says, "He shall do as we wish." Then she leads me to where the cook lay, in a room at the bottom of the house. He was now overcome with sleep, and she thought that I had

¹ At this time (1597-1622) he held the fief of Aalborghus in Jutland.

² His house was outside the walls, about where the palace Amalienborg now stands (O. Nielsen, *Kbns Hist.* iv, p. 388) in a paved street off the main road. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* i, p. 613.)


³ Because of the King's friendship with her husband.

come about the middle of his slumber, and said that I had come at a lucky time, and that more good fortune would accompany me. And as it was the hour for supper, she bade her servants take me with them to their dining-hall and treat me especially well. Meantime she bade two workmen keep guard. These noblemen's servants had a great drinking-bout, as their habit was¹, but I stole away to the cook, and sat with him alone all that night, and amused myself by reading in a book called *The Divine High Court of Justice*². He did not wake until it was quite light; then he began to carry on and to talk wildly. I went up to him and told him to call on God. He said little, and then slumbered for a while. When he awaked he asked where he was: I told him. And whether he had done anybody any harm? I tell him no. Then he asked who I was, and I gave him such information as was needed. Then people came in: the lady also entered and bade us both a joyful good day, rejoicing over the recovery of her servant. She and her husband, Manderup, gave me a rixdollar, and thanked me warmly for my trouble. In all I was two nights there, and was handsomely entertained and treated with much consideration, and they asked me to come to see them again when they returned to Copenhagen, if our fates so permitted. The cook gave me one and a half rixdollars. Then I went back to my lodging.

The following day I appeared at muster, after which Grabow asked me where I had been for those two days. I told him in the plainest fashion, and he did not dare to find fault.

¹ In his account of his visit to Denmark with a French embassy in 1634, on the occasion of Prince Christian's wedding, the Frenchman Ogier says: "While the ambassadors are talking themselves dry—and sometimes quarrelling themselves dry—their companions drink the while on their behalf, yea, and in the antechamber, the very servants and lacqueys challenge their comrades to drain the beaker, filled, if not with Spanish or Rhenish, yet at any rate with French wine."

² Jón must be referring to the Danish work by Albret Raffn, or Ravn, *Den himmelske Herredag*. (For the meaning of Herredag, cp. *n.* 1, p. 98 *supra*.) The title-page shows that it was serious enough for the occasion: "Description of the Last Judgment...also of Eternal Life...item, About Eternal Death and the unspeakable martyrdoms and tortures prepared in Hell for the Devil, his Angels and the Damned." But the earliest known edition is from 1633, so Jón cannot have read it on this occasion. Raffn's book was reprinted many times in the 17th and 18th centuries.

That same autumn I was ordered to Kronborg¹ with thirty of the gunners. We remained there two years, and according to the ancient privileges and rights of the gunners we had a yearly wage of eighteen dollars while we were there, and five dollars monthly for our food. Each company or watch-party had to hold guard in Kronborg Castle every third night, and in each party there were fifty men², ten gunners³ and forty soldiers. This watch-party or file was to meet at the Red Gate as the clock struck four of the afternoon, which is one hour after our Icelandic noon⁴, and the sergeant looked sharply to see if any were drunk, or red in the face, in which case the watch-master thought the fellow was drunk. If the other denied it, the turnkey⁵ took him with him, and a thin iron ring was fastened loosely round his elbow, so that it did not hurt him; on it was stamped , that is to say, Christian the Fourth. Both soldiers and gunners crowd to drink with him, and the one who is called prisoner drinks free. There he sits till the morning awaiting the decision of the Governor of the Castle and of the sergeant, as to whether he shall be let off without punishment to return to his watch and complete his number of hours on duty, namely to stand at his post a day and a night, or whether he shall be placed on the large sharp-ridged wooden horse⁶ which always stands

¹ The Castle of Kronborg at Helsingør was of great importance for collecting the dues exacted by the Danish kings from all ships passing through the Sound. (See Introduction.) In 1574 King Frederik II (d. 1588) had pulled down the remains of the old castle, called Krogen, and begun to build the "maximum et magnificentissimum castellum" as it is described by a member of the English embassy to Denmark in 1588 (*Danske Magasin*, vi R., 1 Bd. pp. 34 ff.). In 1577 the King forbade the use of the old name, and substituted that of Kronborg. Cp. A. Petersen, in *Danske Samlinger*, v (1869-70), pp. 133 ff.

² In 1623 Prince Christian of Anhalt, who visited the Castle, states that its garrison consisted of 100 men. (Friis, *Samling*. pp. 358 f.)

³ The number of artillerymen at Kronborg is nowhere stated, but it is probable that owing to the importance of the Castle it had considerably more than the numbers (varying between ten and one) allotted to the other Castles about this time. Cp. Blom, pp. 17 ff.

⁴ See note 1 to p. 45 *supra*.

⁵ Turnkey: Jón uses the word *cladit* (i.e. *claudit*).

⁶ The wooden horse was introduced by Christian IV together with his foreign mercenaries. Cp. Secher, in *Hist. Medd. om Kbh.* 1, p. 353.

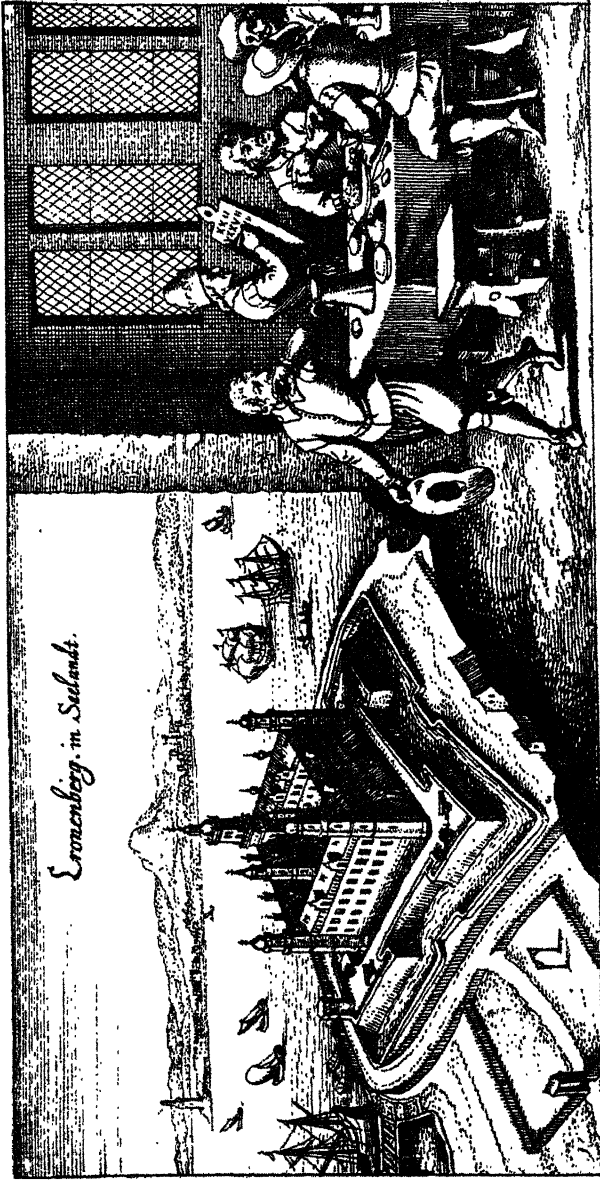
in the courtyard, to sit there without mercy, with fetters on his feet under its belly to keep him down, and a strong lock on them, for such time as is decided.

Now we must return to where I broke off, where all the watch at the Red Gate assembled at the appointed time in the watch-house which was situated there, waiting the time when they should mount guard. The sergeant, a German of the name of Caspar, sat on the bench at the gable-end, and on either side of him the quarter-masters who commanded the watch to which I belonged. One of them was called Hans Tobrich and the other Andreas Møller, a very old man. These two men were worthy and excellent, and like beloved fathers to me. Andreas Møller had a son in Copenhagen who was a surgeon and was called Master Blasius¹, a worthy man: he had cut open three men while yet alive and removed their hurt and by God's grace made them whole. On the left bench sat the soldiers, and the gunners on the right.

The drummer went out twice, and the third time he went out to strike the drum all issued forth in file with the sergeant, each to his place according to the original orders which apportioned each place, marching or standing. First goes the sergeant with his gold halberd, then the drummer with the piper on his left, then the first line, called corporals, in their companies, then the other soldiers, then the gunner-masters or gunners in their ranks like those in the first rank: the fighting line of a company is called rank: its depth is called file. The sergeant leads his troop across the castle bridge (which is drawn up every evening, and used as a door to the castle at night), then through all the cloisters where there are stone steps leading zig-zag down to the wall which surrounds the castle². The sergeant proceeds with his troop to the south of the castle, where there is a flat space, in which stands a large hewn-out cubical stone, well and smoothly polished.


¹ Master Blasius Møller, "the honourable, worthy and skilful Chirurgus in Copenhagen," as a contemporary calls him, is known to have put up a tablet to the memory of his parents in a Helsingør church. (Ingerslev, *op. cit.* I, p. 399.)

² The fortifications at this time consisted only of the four irregular bastions with casemates. The other defences were first put up during and after the war with the Swedes, 1657-60. [R.C.]



THE CASTLE OF KRONBORG EARLY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

From the collection of the Royal Library, Copenhagen

It is set fast in the ground: and on it is engraved . The sergeant, the drummer, the piper and the muster-clerk proceed thither, and the soldiers and gunners form a circle out of their ranks around these four. Then the sergeant removes his head-covering, and each after him, and says in the German tongue¹: "God give you a good and blessed night, honourable soldiers and gunners. Know that this watch which ye are now to keep is God's and ours, and for that reason I desire to remind each honourable soldier and gunner to pay good heed to himself and to his watch, so that no complaint may arise, and to answer to his name." Thereupon the muster-clerk reads out the name of each. The turnkey runs round the circle and takes everyone who is found to be drunk back to confinement with him².

The castle wall is four-sided³; at each corner there is a circular bastion⁴, where stands a man with a sword at his side and a gun. The fifth mounts guard outside the door of the soldiers' guard-room. These five men stand guard at these five spots at one and the same time, but they are relieved ten times in the course of a day and a night. Thus there are fifty men who stand guard over the castle every day and every

¹ Like most other military regulations in Denmark at this date, the Regulations for the Garrison of Kronborg, dated 1596, were in German. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, 35. Cp. Blom, notes to pp. 14 f.) All through the 16th century and until far into the 17th the Danish kings relied in war-time mainly on German mercenaries. A number of German nobles were in "Pension," as it was called, to the Danish King: that is, they received a grant on pledging themselves to serve him in war with an agreed number of troops. The ordinary soldiers were largely recruited in Germany, and even many of the artillerymen were German. Cp. E. Madsen, *Danmarks Hærvæsen*, pp. 4 ff. The first chaplain to the Castle, appointed in 1582, was a German. Cp. Friis, *Saml.* p. 295.

² Art. 8 in the Kronborg Regulations of 1596: "...Those who are on watch duty shall not be drunk. If one or more of the watch is found to be drunk, he shall be taken down by the watch and given over to the turnkey and be severely punished, according to the law, therefor." Secher, *Forordn.* III, p. 108. In the naval regulations of 1582 (§ 38) anyone coming drunk to his watch forfeits his life (*op. cit.* II, pp. 243 ff.).

³ The diary, quoted above, kept by a member of the English embassy, describes the Castle thus: "Quadratum id ex lapide quadrato contignationibus quatuor, tectum ex aere totum, quatuor turrets, e quis una illa quae olim fuerat [from the old Krogen]; aliae minores. Ante castellum bombardae maximae, optimae dispositae et sedulo curatae, amplius centenis."

⁴ *Ründel*, i.e. Dan. Runddel.

night. This arrangement is always the same. Every evening the sergeant locks the gate himself, and he is up in the castle every night, unless he asks the governor for permission to sleep at home in his lodgings.

Four tried noblemen also serve here at the castle of Kronborg, and they are called *Adelbursen*¹ or the "Round²," because they take turns to be on watch duty in such fashion that each has his night for visiting the watch and walking round the castle wall to surprise such as are holding careless watch, and to see if any are to be found asleep, in which case they fall into the hands of this patrol. Now if they find anyone sleeping at his post heedless, so that he can be surprised by them, it is in the power of these highly trusted men to kill him there at once, or to take him alive to the sergeant, so that he may be put in irons and put to death in the morning³, and this often happens in castles and forts, if ill-luck befalls a man. (Such a case had occurred shortly before I went to Kronborg with my comrades.) According to military law and custom, such misdemeanants are shot at a certain spot in the castle yard by five of their comrades and dearest friends, whom they themselves select out of the whole company.

On the third day after our arrival, in the house of hewn stone which stands furthest out on the walls and looks out over the Sound and across to Helsingborg⁴, His Majesty's articles were read out to us, and oaths of fidelity and homage to the King and crown taken from us. This happened three times in my sojourn of two years, and the oaths were renewed. Two cannon were handed over to each of us to attend to and manage. I was allotted two bronze cannon which stood nearest to the stone house which was called the pavilion. These two cannon were three fathoms long⁵ and shot six-

¹ Germ. *Adelbursch* came to mean an officer.

² Jón says *gerunn*, i.e. Dan. *Ronde*, *Runde*.

³ Art. 45 of the Regulations of April 4, 1611: "If any be found sleeping on his watch...he shall forfeit his life, without mercy." Secher, *Forordn.* III, p. 305.

⁴ This pavilion, or summer-house, was on the bastion now called the Flag Battery. [R.C.] Prince Christian of Anhalt mentions it in 1623. (Friis, *Saml.* pp. 358 f.)

⁵ *Nothslanger*, such as Jón had (see below p. 116), seem to have been

teen-pound balls over Øresund¹. Two others pointed west towards the town called Elsinore, but the castle itself is called Kronborg, and its walls are thrown up on the edge of the beach. I do not remember the height of the walls, but I am of the opinion that it must have been certainly fifteen fathoms. There were many entrances down at sea-level, and in them stand old and terribly large cannon with a large opening in front of each, on a level with the water-line of ships, if there should be need to shoot to defend the castle. Down in these casemates dried turf is kept for the use of the castle and the two guard-rooms. The soldiers had one guard-room and we the other; in each of them stood a large stove which burnt both day and night from the time it began to grow cool in the autumn until long after Easter².

There was a great frost the second winter I was there³, so that the Sound was frozen over in January and remained so into Lent. The farmers of the district round Helsingborg, which is in Skåne, came driving in carts to the market over the Sound (which separates Kronborg and Helsingborg by about a sea-mile) with all kinds of comestibles and other wares. According to old custom they have a free market in Elsinore whenever the Sound freezes and they can cross it in carts, but not at any other time. This happened in the year when the comet or tailed star was seen in the sky⁴.

25 ft. long (Blom, p. 157). Prince Christian (*loc. cit.*) says: "On the ramparts and wall stand many large metal cannon, which fire up to 40 lb. balls. We counted up to 50 large and small. Then in a small arsenal there are 6 large heavy pieces, and by them lie three long 'Serpents' (slanger), of which one, to judge by the eye, might be 7 ells long."

¹ Øresund, the Sound between Sjælland and the Swedish coast.

² In 1608 the then Governor of the Castle, Joachim Bülow, received orders that he was no longer to allot the right of wood-cutting in the royal forests to the inhabitants of Elsinore, as the King intends to put up a brick stove in the Castle, which will need much fuel. (*Danske Saml.* v, p. 184.)

³ Cp. p. 115 *infra*.

⁴ Ole Worm notes under Nov. 21, 1618: "Primus a nobis observatus est ingens Cometa...conspiciebatur horis matutinis, caudatus." (*Mon. Hist. Dan.* II, p. 718.) Sivert Grubbe (*loc. cit.*) notes it under Nov. 19, and adds: "Ericus Puteanus has issued a book about this comet wherein he teaches that it portends nothing evil: but the issue has shown the opposite." The outbreak of plague (see next chapter) was considered to stand in some connection with it.

CHAPTER XV

THE second year of my service in Kronborg, that is to say 1620¹, a great plague raged in Denmark, so that 7000 men perished in Sjælland², in Norway 4000, in Jutland 5000. Now it is laid down in His Majesty's regulations that all those who serve in the castle are strictly forbidden to enter a house infected with plague³. But it so happened on one occasion that one man of our company, Thomas Randers by name, lay sore smitten by plague. Some of us were attached to him and accordingly three of us went one day to discover how this our dear friend was faring. Trusting in God we entered the passage, as it is called, that is inside the house-door, and called to the mistress of the house, and asked how Thomas did. She said that he was mending. We bade her prosper, and greet him from us. And so we left the house and thought that no one could have got wind of our visit, but it is an old proverb that folk's discretion is not so great as to make them mum. It so happened one time that when I had the first watch of the evening, which is two successive hours, sergeant Caspar sent a message to me after he had unlocked the castle gate, that I was to leave my post and go to him, which was not the usual custom, and the messenger was to take my place. And when I came to our guard-room, the sergeant was there and all were sitting over their supper, for it was permitted to each of us to have food carried to us from our lodgings, before the gate was closed. When I came, I wished the sergeant a good evening. He received me kindly, and asked if I would not sit down too and get myself some

¹ This plague was in 1619, not 1620, and it began in Elsinore in the autumn of 1618. Cp. Mansa, *Folkesygdommernes Hist. i Danmark*, pp. 275 ff. Ole Worm says that it threatens the death of the whole population of the town. The University was closed on its account from May 1619 to February 1620. Rørdam, *Mon. Hist. Dan.* II, pp. 719 f.

² Mansa, *op. cit.*, says it had 7000 victims in Copenhagen alone.

³ No such article is found in the permanent regulations but no doubt special orders were issued at the time.

food. I said I would accept the offer when my time for a meal had come. He said nothing for a while. I asked him what was his business with me. He said he thought he had some, and asked how often His Majesty's regulations had been read out since I came. I said they had been read out three times. "Then," said he, "I know that thou wilt have paid good heed to what they say." I was not very ready in reply. "I seem to remember," says he, "that one of them forbids all those serving in the castle to enter a house infected with plague." I agree. "Then," he says, "I know that thou wilt have laid the regulation to heart." "To the best of my belief," say I. "But I make bold to say," says he, "that thou hast recently entered a house with plague." I repudiate the accusation and deny it strenuously. He asks how I dare contradict his statement. I say that everyone has a right to repudiate untruth and what is wrongfully said against one, but that I did not deny, that I had asked after one of His Majesty's servants. He says that I lie, that I had certainly been with him and eaten and drunk in his company. I say that all who spoke untruth lied. He asks if I presume to say that he lies? I say, not of himself, for what he said he repeated from another, and I ask him to declare that other. This he will not do. I say that God had it in His Almighty power to strike any or all of us, wherever He wished, in the castle or out of it, for whether within walls or without, all stood equally defenceless before death, when God permitted that any or all of us should depart this life. All who were within and who knew the sergeant's temper were astonished both at my presumption and at his patience with me, and no man dared to interrupt our conversation by so much as a word. Finally the sergeant became most kindly, drank to me and handed over his plate to me with excellent food on it. Men were greatly amazed at this.

This sergeant had two young sons. One of them was twelve and the other thirteen years old. The plague attacked them both so fiercely that they passed away within two days¹.

¹ The Commandant of the Castle, Christian Hansen, is also said to have died of the plague. (Mansa, *op. cit.* p. 275.)

He grieved sorely for them but none the less was filled with hate against me. This he concealed within his own breast, and I was not aware of it until his best friend, Hans Tobrich, one of my quarter-masters and always as loving as a father to me, took me privily aside, and gave me faithful warning, bidding me heed myself as best I could against the sergeant, for that he bore me a deep grudge because of that conversation we had recently had in the guard-room, for he had lost his two sons so shortly after that conversation, and thought that I had the gift of prophetic speech. He bade me tell no one, which I promised him faithfully; and he said that the sergeant would lie in wait to take me unawares on a moonless night.

One Sunday evening it so happened that the sergeant had eighteen quarts of Rostock beer (the best ale to be got out there)¹ brought into the castle, which was contrary to his custom. Now it chanced that my watch, with two others of my squad, fell that evening on the little turret, but earlier in the evening I stood guard together with the soldiers, when the sergeant began his drinking in the gunners' guard-room. And after each quart-measure had been passed round within he sent it out to me. Baltzer Lynbeck was the name of the man who bore the ale out to me, and with each quart-pot he gave me a brotherly warning to heed myself as best I might for the sergeant. I said that the sergeant should not notice that anyone had warned me, by my refusal to accept the ale he was good enough to send, but that I should rather accept his gift in no churlish fashion, so that he could see that I in no wise suspected or heeded his plan.

And so the evening falls, and it is after sunset, and so dark that I cannot see my own hands. Now I prayed Almighty God to strengthen me against all enemies, so that I might see what I most behoved to see. He would not carry his bunch of keys out of the guard-room on that occasion, so eagerly did he seek to plunge me into misfortune and to lie in ambush for my life.

¹ Hamburg and Prussian ale were both considered better than Rostock ale, and were proportionately dearer. Cp. Bruun, *Kjøbenhavn*, 1, p. 342.

At last I became aware of him. The castle chapel which was about in the middle of the castle¹, being whiter than the rest of the buildings, by God's grace I saw him stand out against the lighter wall, so that I was sure it was a man. I did not declare myself until he had approached me as nearly as might be, and I so acted, by divine grace, with intention, because I knew well that he thought his quarry was already his and that he was licking his lips over the prospect of a dainty dish. And when he had approached so near that I thought I could lunge at him with my spear, I gave the loudest and most blood-curdling yell that I could manage, which smote him with the greatest terror, so that he jumped a long way back and said in a trembling voice that he was the officer who makes the rounds. I told him to retire. The fifth sentinel who stood in front of the soldiers' guard-house told me that I had, by God's grace, saved his life, because he could so clearly hear my call. After this the sergeant went to bed according to his custom.

The next morning the sergeant came in to our guard-room. I bade him good day. He barely replied. He asked me if I had intended to drive him frantic the previous evening, or if I had lost my wits. I said neither. He said that no one had ever given him such a fright, and declared that he would bear it a long while in mind. I said that was his affair, but so that he might understand me, I repeated an old saying, that he who tweaks another's hair exposes his own to the same treatment, and with that I left the room. When I had gone he said to Hans Tobrich that it would not pay for him to quarrel with me. Hans Tobrich told him it was small charity in him to start a grudge with a lonely foreigner, neither life nor death being in my hands.

That evening, as I was leaving the castle and passing through the Red Gate and along the paved street, in which lived His Majesty's Clerk of Customs, Christian Davidsen²,

¹ The chapel was first consecrated in 1582. It fell into disrepair, and early in the 19th century was used as a fencing-school. In 1843 it was re-consecrated. (Trap, *Danmark*, II, p. 37.)

² Christian Davidsen (d. c. 1659) became Clerk of the Customs in 1613, and later Borgmester in Helsingør. [R.C.]

and many other honest folk, and as I was making my way to my lodging, some one shouted to me from a wine-cellar, that I was to come thither. I recognised the sergeant's voice, and for a long time I did not dare to enter, until Hans Tobrich bade me. Then we sat drinking until the bell rang for the watch, and we drank to our reconciliation. After that he and all the soldiers left me in peace as long as I was there.

CHAPTER XVI

THE Governor of Kronborg Castle was called Thomas Nold¹, and was a nobleman from Livonia. He was always good to me, and likewise his lady and her sister Mistress Cecilia, who used to question me about my own country, often declared they found great entertainment therein. In that house I received many a good meal and good liquor. Sometimes I cut up fuel with a saw, together with several of my comrades, especially my comrade Hans Madsen Lund, who had long been muster-clerk, and Baltzer Lynbeck. We three were all in one squad and were good friends.

One of the soldiers was called Svend the Scanian, and with him I twice fell out. The first time we came to blows was in the town, in the house next to the sergeant's after the watch had been set. We were both placed under arrest, and the next morning we were put on the old wooden horse, on which he had often sat on account of brawls, but I never before. The Governor of the Castle, Thomas Nold, passed by and ordered the sergeant to set me free, and said that the other owed it to me if he did not sit there all day till evening. The next time this Svend challenged me to a duel² outside the Red Gate. The sergeant arrived on the spot and also Hans Tobrich. The sergeant drew his sword and declared that he would thrash whichever of us got the worst of it, for he said we behaved thus in imitation of others, because it was the fashion, and all of boastfulness, and he promised that he

¹ Thomas Nold was a nobleman from Courland, not Livonia. He came very young to Denmark as a page in the Court of Christian IV, and took part in the Kalmar War (1611-13). In 1615 he became Commandant (Hovedsmand) at Kronborg, and in the same year married Margrete Gjedde, sister of Admiral Ove Gjedde (see vol. II). From 1624 onwards he was Chief Master of the Arsenal at Copenhagen. (Blom, pp. 28 ff., and *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*.)

² Art. 17 of the military regulations of 1611 ordains that privates fighting duels may not use guns or long swords, but only the dagger that hangs at their side, and they may not use its point. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, pp. 291 ff.)

would give one of us such a drubbing that others might take example by him. I reflected that I had better not spare my exertions, and we had not fenced long before Svend got a little scratch on his cheek. It had been agreed that whoever first drew blood should be counted victor. Now this fellow was tall and strongly built. The sergeant drubbed him soundly with the flat of his sword till he was quite crestfallen. Svend never got into another quarrel before God called him away three years later, and for a long while there was a lull in the challenges and duels outside the Red Gate.

There was a certain widow in Elsinore, by name Katrine Láliks¹, who had three children: two of her boys went to school. This woman desired me for a husband, but I had no inclination or mind to it, especially on account of her children. One evening a stranger came to her house, and declared himself to be a widely-travelled man. When he had sat at drink for a while, he asked her in marriage. She would not answer him until she had seen me in the evening, and sought my advice, as soon as I came from the castle. And when I saw this fellow I was filled with unease. He was eager that I should drink with him, which I refused to do. As soon as I was alone with the woman, I urged upon her to refuse him and not to desire such a fellow, about whom she knew nothing, and with this she at once agreed. He departed at once. In about a week's time news came of what manner of man he was, both thief and murderer; meantime he had been caught in the Sniding district², where he had killed a man. When this became known the woman thanked me from her heart, that I had put a stop to the affair, for all surmised that he would have robbed her of all her possessions and murdered her. Such things have happened no less in Denmark than elsewhere.

One of the soldiers, called Rich Jacob, was one of my best friends there. One evening it chanced that as I was going

¹ Dan. *Laalike*, *Lollike* means "from Laaland." [S.B.] Láliks would thus mean "the Laalander's widow."

² There is no such district (Herred). Probably Jón means Snedinge Herregaard. [R.C.] (This is an estate in Sjælland.)

from him to my lodging, a rich citizen's son met me, drunk, and drew his sword on me, threatening to strike me. In my turn I drew my sword, and courteously begged him to bring misfortune neither on me nor on himself. He bade me defend myself if I served the King as an honourable fellow and not as a dishonourable one. The end of our play was that he ran home wounded. This man had had long experience abroad and desired to be a Master of the Arsenal. He went to the King to show off his master performance, namely to hit a mark with a cannon in pitch darkness at midnight. The target was set up in a wood a good distance from the place where the cannon stood on a level quay, and he succeeded to a certain extent, but he was kept from attaining his wish by the jealousy of others who wished to secure the office and who were more lucky. Hence he conceived ill-will to us who served in the castle.

In Lent, in the winter of 1620, our gracious lord the King crossed the Sound with several thousand people of all conditions and proceeded to Halmstad in Halland to meet King Gustavus of Sweden¹. Here they made a treaty which was to be permanent², and all who were under the Danish crown were strictly forbidden to speak ill of the Swedes, whether in public or in private, in speech or in song. I and my comrade Hans the clerk had a great wish to be of this grand party, and four of us got down to the quay, to the ferry which crossed the Sound, as Master Grabow ordered us, but just as we were stepping into the ferry-boat the Governor of the Castle, Thomas Nold, came and caught us, uttering sharp words to Grabow; and so we had to return home crestfallen. While the meeting and sojourn of the Kings lasted, so much driving snow fell in the streets of Elsinore that it reached to one's middle, and it lay for a week and a half. Then the ice

¹ It was in 1619, on Feb. 28, that Christian IV met King Gustaf Adolf of Sweden. There can hardly have been quite so many people as Jón says when the King crossed the Sound (on Feb. 7).

² The object of the meeting was not to make a treaty, but in order that the Kings might make each other's acquaintance and discuss how best peace might be kept between the two countries. (It lasted until 1643.)

and snow thawed. On the day (shortly before Palm Sunday¹) that the King was returning with his noble following and was to be ferried across Øresund, more than 150 ferry-boats were afloat. Now it so chanced on that day that a great quantity of ice was adrift, and all the ferry-boats and cargo-boats preceded the King, sailing west across the Sound to Copenhagen and Elsinore, and the King went last on a ferry-boat. During those hours I was on sentry-duty. At that time the Lady Christine² was in Kronborg Castle and was in sore trouble and anxiety, and continually called down to me at my post, bidding me call to her when I saw the King's boat come from the east across the Sound, which did not happen till late in the afternoon. And when he was come half way, a sharp squall sprang up from the south-east and a great ice-floe came drifting out of the Baltic into the King's course, so that it could not be passed, either by sailing or rowing, because there was too strong a current running in the Sound. And in the storm, which was continually increasing in violence, the boat and the ice-floe were driven a sea-mile and a half, down to below the Copper Mill³, which stands west-north-west of Kronborg; and there, by God's grace, the King got to land, though with difficulty, and drenched through. At the same time the wind veered to a violent north-easter with bitter frost. While the King was in this peril the Lady Christine was in a grievous state, and bade me pray to God for him, that he might succeed in escaping. Instantly she sent a carriage with four horses to meet him; the King was stiff and much chilled by the time he arrived at the castle. He would not have a trumpet-peal nor a salute from the guns⁴.

¹ The King returned on March 3. Jón's story of the ice is corroborated by the circumstance that on his return journey the King gave eight dollars to the ferrymen, whereas on his way to Sweden he had only given them two dollars. (Christian IV's Journal, *Nyt Hist. Tidsskr.* iv, p. 277.)

² Christine Munk, a noblewoman, whom the King had marriedmorganatically in 1615.

³ The Copper Mill (Kobbermøllen), at Hellebæk, erected by the King in 1598, and used for casting guns. We find the King constantly sending copper to it: hence the name Jón gives it, which we also find in the Arsenal accounts. (Cp. Blom, p. 175 and elsewhere, also Christian IV's diary, Jan. 1620, *Nyt Hist. Tidsskr.* iv, p. 336.)

⁴ Such a salute was ordinarily fired on the King's arrival.

A fortnight later a certain Dutch vessel arrived from Spain with many kinds of wares on board and precious fruits¹. At that time ice stretched far out over the Sound, and a channel was broken open more than a sea-mile in length, all the way into the town, by men who had no employment. Many persons went out on to the ice to look at the vessel and to buy fruits and apples. The captain of this vessel was a very big man, so big that no one had seen a bigger.

Before Easter there was a great press of ships sailing the Sound, both ships from the Baltic, wishing to get out, and other vessels come from many parts, Holland, England, Scotland, and Norway, on their way to Sweden, Danzig², Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck and many other ports. These ships were 637 in number, and they all lay out in the Sound during Easter. The third day of Easter they obtained permission to pay their dues to the King's Customs official, Christian Davidsen. And since there were so many who had to pay dues and wished to start without delay, there was a great press and much crowding in the anteroom of the Customs house, and several were hurt. For this reason two soldiers and two gunners were summoned from the castle, to prevent the entry of more persons than one at a time. I was one of these four who were sent there. We got a great amount of drink-money, for each skipper gave us four Danish skillings.

At that time there were two churches in Elsinore³. One was called the Danish church. Its parish minister was Master

¹ The King mentions in his diary for 1619, on Dec. 14, that there were ships in the Sound which had wine and "Pommerantzer" (Seville oranges) on board. (*Nyt Hist. Tidsskr.* iv, p. 336.)

² "Dansen"; Polish Gdansk.

³ The two churches are St Olaf's church, built in the 15th century, but incorporating parts of a much older church, also dedicated to St Olaf, and the church of St Mary, both still standing. The latter church, also built in the 15th century, was disused for many years after the Reformation, until Frederik II, in 1576, had it dedicated for the use of the many German and Dutch inhabitants of Helsingør. It was called the "German church," and it was not until 1851 that services ceased to be held in German, though since 1770 Danish had been used every alternate Sunday. The minister of St Mary's still combines this office with the chaplaincy at the Castle. (Trap, *Kongeriget Danmark*, 3rd ed. II, pp. 6 ff.)

Hans Krus¹. Beside this there was the castle church, and our minister was called Master Augustinus²: he preached in German³; he was an elderly man and an excellent. During each sermon the castle bridge was drawn up, which served like a closed gate for the castle entrance, and if any person came after the bridge had been drawn up, he had to wait there or else go home again. But when the sermon was ended we soldiers and gunners were mustered and the roll-call read, and any who was not present to answer to his name was at once sought out by the turnkey and set up on the horse.

The largest bell in Kronborg castle-tower was called the Groat-Bell⁴. It was bought once from a widow in Landskrona in a year of famine for no more than what it would contain of groats. On the great festivities this bell was rung in three peals about nine o'clock, and any one of the artillerymen or soldiers who had not come up to the Red Gate when these were ended and the third peal had rung, was placed under arrest and remained so all the festival, and on the fourth day was placed on the horse, unless he got special grace. After the peals the three largest of the bronze guns on the castle walls were fired off; they were called *Nothslanger*⁵. There were only four of that kind there, and five in Copenhagen⁶,

¹ Hans Kruse, known to have been pastor of St Olaf's church in 1617, d. 1625. [R.C.]

² Augustinus Sand, pastor of St Mary's, and chaplain at Kronborg. He was born at Wittenberg in 1567, d. 1649. [R.C.]

³ Owing to the large number of German mercenaries, cp. p. 103, n. 1 *supra*.

⁴ A famous bell which had hung in Lund cathedral and had been cracked by careless ringing was melted down and cast, in 1577, into two bells, both of which were placed in the Kronborg chapel tower. It has been suggested that it is one of these which was taken by the Swedes in 1658-9 and is now in Stockholm, but it appears that everything of metal at Kronborg was melted in the great fire of 1629 (Trap, *Danmark*, II, p. 30), and this seems confirmed by the fact that in 1637 we find a huge bell, weighing 16,568 pounds, cast for Kronborg. (Blom, p. 177.) It must have been this later bell which the Swedes took. See Friis, *Saml.* pp. 295, 358 f. Nothing is known of Jón's story.

⁵ *Slange* is the usual term in the 16th century for guns of moderate calibre. *Nothslanger* were the largest of this kind (Blom, pp. 150 f.). [R.C.] The word *slange* is however used in Christian IV's time for many guns which were not of the *slange* type. (Blom, p. 157.)

⁶ It is known that in 1602-10 there were only five or six *Nothslanger* in the Arsenal at Copenhagen. (Blom, p. 157.)

which last I have previously mentioned. Two of them pointed towards the Town, and the third of them, which was one of the guns in my charge, stood near the pavilion.

When ships sailed past Kronborg with contrary winds the large red flag was hoisted on the pavilion as a sign that they might keep their topsail up without penalty¹. And now we will cease to speak of Kronborg for a while.

¹ As a general rule all vessels had to strike topsails off Kronborg, in recognition of the Danish King's sovereignty of the Sound.

CHAPTER XVII

AT the end of this time I and my comrades were recalled from Kronborg and summoned to Copenhagen, which we all regretted. We were well received there by good friends.

And now I will tell how I first went on voyages in the service of his gracious Majesty and of the kingdom. It happened the year after I entered military service in 1616, and after the two royal men-of-war had seized a mighty and notorious freebooter called Mandaus¹, off the coast of Russia, and our story begins there as follows.

It was the custom of His Majesty every year to send war-vessels out into Danish waters for the protection and deliverance of all honest sailors who had written permission to sail these waters and who plied between one country and another with their wares. These letters of permission, with the seal of the kingdom, were issued in Denmark, Holland², England and other parts where His Majesty had his agents. When men wrote 1615, the year in which I sailed hence with the English as is told before, the King sent two ships, the *Victor* and the *Jupiter*, into the North Sea to Norway and Russia. And when they landed in Norway they heard news of a pirate vessel which was commanded by the afore-mentioned Mandaus, and which had recently come from the Faroes, and just before they arrived had made a descent on the shore and seized cattle at Flekkerø for their provisioning. And when the Danish admiral Jørgen Daa³, who was on board the *Victor*, heard of this great pirate, he lost not a moment, but started instantly in pursuit, accompanied by the *Jupiter* from that harbour, and they pursued the pirates as hotly as they

¹ His real name was Mendoza. Cp. p. 31 *supra*.

² See Introduction.

³ Jørgen Daa of Sørslev belonged to the Fyn branch of an ancient noble family. He seems to have been poor and to have made an unfortunate marriage (see p. 51, n. 3 *supra*), but was rewarded for his skill and valour in the Kalmar War (1611-13) by the fief of Holbæk. He served at sea from 1609 to 1617, and died in 1619.

could¹. And whenever they touched land or entered harbours, as they proceeded northwards along the coast of Norway, they heard of these pirates, that they had recently been there and had sailed away. And when the King's ships come to Kildin² in Russia, they are told the pirates had been there two nights and that three nights ago they had sailed away in a north-easterly direction, along the Russian coast, to the White Sea. At once the admiral had the trumpets sounded for leaving the harbour, and accordingly the anchors were weighed and the sails hoisted.

Four sea-miles out of the course lay an island called Malmis³: the admiral despatched the small vessel, *Jupiter*, there, to see if they had repaired thither, which, however, they had not purposed to do, but rather, as said before, to lie in wait in the White Sea for a Dutch ship of which they had information and which was to pass through Veigat, coming by that route from India. It is not a customary route, and only three ships have succeeded in getting through⁴. But this is not the place to write more fully of that, rather we must relate how the admiral enters the White Sea and catches a

¹ In Jørgen Daa's own report to the King, preserved in the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen, it appears that he left Copenhagen on May 15, heard on May 20, in the Faroes, that the pirates had left there four days previously, sailed straight to Vardø, where he could obtain no news, and then eastwards. Off Kildin a Flensburg skipper tells him that Mandaus is in the harbour there, but he finds he had left six hours earlier, and starts again in pursuit. Off the Seven Islands (Sem Islands) he saw and pursued two suspicious vessels, and gave orders to put on all sail, but had to desist because the *Jupiter's* topmasts were carried away. The next day he sees them again and fights for two days and nights, apparently himself out of range of the pirate's guns, for only at the end, when the pirate approaches, does his vessel receive any damage: the bowsprit halyard is shot away. The pirate throws overboard a mass of cargo to lighten himself for flight, and because of leaks down in the hull, but, pursued by *Jupiter*, runs aground.

² Kildin, a small island off the Kola peninsula. Off its eastern end there is excellent anchorage. There is a bird's-eye view of the island in J. Th. de Bry, *Zehender Theil der Orientalischen Indien*, II, Frankfurt, 1613.

³ Malmis, a town about eight miles from Kildin on the mainland. Sivert Grubbe, in 1599, says: "In old days this town was called Kola, and it used to belong to Norway, but by the carelessness of the Norwegian commandants (at Vardø) it is now Russian." (*Danske Magasin*, IV R., 2 Bd. p. 396.)

⁴ No ships had succeeded in getting through at this time. Cp. note 2 to p. 31 *supra*.

sight of Captain Mandaus under sail. And, there being a good wind in their favour, the admiral made the most of it, and trimmed his sails as advantageously for the wind as he could; flinging water on to the mainsail and lacing the bonnet on under it, and lee sails along the edges, so as to increase the spread of canvas¹. When the others saw this furious pursuit they did the same. Yet the King's men succeeded presently in overtaking them, so that they could reach them with cannon-balls. The pirates fired back, but did the Danes no harm. All the balls which the Danes shot into the enemy ship Mandaus had exhibited to him and brought down to his cabin that he might examine their size. They had a Danish lad as cabin-boy, and Mandaus asked him whether he thought that the Danes, his countrymen, had larger guns on board. The lad said he was well acquainted with their habits, that they usually fired the smaller cannon first, and the larger later; for the lad was fain to see the pirates come to their death. Mandaus believed him, and therefore never turned to fight, but made off as fast as he could, until they came to the Seven Islands² in the White Sea: then the *Jupiter* arrived. Her captain was Enevold Stygge³. And that vessel being surpassingly quick under sail she got across their course.

The pirates now tried every trick: they cast overboard many packets of silk and velvet, so that their pursuers should dally to hoist them on board, which the Danish admiral forbade. And because the *Jupiter* crossed their course they had to run the vessel on the shallows. Nevertheless they would not yield themselves up, but hoisted their blood-banner on their stern⁴. The Danish admiral sent two men to the ship,

¹ In 1599, when pursuing an English vessel, the *Victor* had had four men on the mainyard hoisting up buckets of water and pouring them on the sail. (Jonas Charisius' Diary, Schlegel, *Saml.* 1, p. 81.)

² Sem Ostrovov, small islands in the White Sea.

³ Jørgen Daa does not mention the Captain of the *Jupiter*. We find Enevold Stygge Captain of the *Unicorn* in 1616, see p. 130, n. 2 *infra*.

⁴ "It was the Eve of St John (June 23): then I had my flag flown from the main-top: the freebooter did the same on shore: then I sent my jolly-boat ashore with three men to ask if he would yield himself or no, and hand over ships and goods to me with all they contained: then he answered me back again, that he would not do so, but would fight so long as he had a man standing, but if I would send my Lieutenant as hostage, he would

one was his own servant Morten, and another, by name Gottschalk, a gunner, with a written message. Mandaus received them well, and had them generously entertained with ale and food, and on this account there was some delay, which greatly displeased the admiral, so that they were within an ace of being punished, but escaped because it seemed that they had not been responsible for their actions. Mandaus sent two men to the admiral with a few written words, of which the purport was that he would not yield himself up as matters now stood, but presumptuously challenged him to a battle on land. This message somewhat discomfited the admiral at first, for he was aware that his soldiers were untrained and that there were few on board who were reasonably expert with the musket, however, for his life he durst not refuse it.

Then they disembarked from the ship with beating of drums and loud pealing of trumpets, and each side ranged itself in battle-array, and stood ready for the fight as soon as the signal was given. But because the hour of doom for Mandaus and his comrades had struck, and he knew himself in a strange place without a ship (for it was damaged and riddled by shots, and was moreover fast aground on a sand-bank), it seemed better to him to give himself up: so he calls in a loud voice to the admiral and courteously enquires if he did not stand in high favour with the King his master? The other says yea to this. Mandaus then asks further, whether the admiral could be confident of securing pardon and life for him and his captain and ship's master¹. The admiral gladly consents

come aboard and negotiate." The Admiral sent his Lieutenant, Jens Munk (afterwards famous for his voyage to find the north-west passage), and there was a long delay: the Admiral does not say why, but he had agreed with Jens Munk that after firing one shot he would go ashore with his whole crew. The shot was fired and Jens Munk said to the pirates: "Let me return at once: else there will be an entertainment not of the best." He returns with a demand for quarter. The Admiral sent Jens Munk ashore with musketeers to shoot from the shore "and I made him [the enemy] anxious and alarmed, both with the guns of *Jupiter* and the musketeers on land" and the pirates went aboard again. The Admiral got two guns ashore, "and when they saw that they wanted to make terms."

¹ "I promised the Captain's people quarter until they had come aboard H.M.'s vessel, then I would consider the matter further; when they came on board I had 55 cast overboard besides those who had been injured

to this, and says that his lord would never put such a man to death, which Mandaus firmly believed, and so went and gave himself up to the Danish admiral, a fortunate victory for the Danes, but the ruin and death of the others, whom vengeance claimed. Mandaus then had to part from all his ill-gotten gains, and he and four others gave themselves up to the Danes, namely, himself, Captain Bra, his skipper, his mate, by name Jacob, who was a wise and pious man, and had never consented to their piracy, and had joined them unwittingly, thinking them righteous seamen when he took service with them. And the Danish lad received pardon at the same time as the mate. The Danes took all the others and put them to death, in such fashions as they themselves chose, namely that they all had their throats cut, even as they had done to others, and were cast in the sea in couples, fastened to a gun-breech so that they might reach the bottom the more quickly. The Danes took over all their wealth and conveyed it to their own ships, namely eight chests full of every kind of silver coinage, which were so heavy that when they came home it took four men to bear the smallest of them. These were kept for a while in the Castle at Copenhagen. The ninth chest was full of coins of pure gold, and it took ten men to carry it up to the Castle, and no such rich ship was known ever to have come to Copenhagen before¹. Finally the Danes set fire to the pirates' vessel in that same place².

Afterwards they set sail for home safe and sound, and gave glory to God; and three days after their arrival these three, namely Captain Mandaus, Captain Bra and the skipper Rubentzius, were led to the gallows, which was erected outside the East Gate; but the mate and the Danish boy were pardoned. Mandaus presented the threefold gold chain which

(in the fighting) who might be about 24. But to Captain Mandaus and Captain Walther Bhrae and their skipper Linnert I gave quarter until we should arrive in Copenhagen, and then such quarter as was deserved."

¹ Jørgen Daa and his crews got two-thirds of this booty as prize-money. (Lind, p. 171.)

² Jørgen Daa says that as he could not get the vessel afloat, he set fire to it after saving all that he could. The document is dated Sept. 6, 1615. (D. Canc., Indlæg til Registre og Tegn. 1613-16. Læg 1615 6/9 Jørgen Daa.)

he wore to Admiral Jørgen Daa, embracing him before his execution, and saying that the chain should be his because he had overcome him honourably. And when they were conducted to the place of execution they went bare-headed with song and merriment. Mandaus said he thanked God that he was permitted to receive his due punishment here, hoping for God's grace, the forgiveness of his sins, and eternal life for the sake of Jesus Christ alone. A new gallows was set up for them of the shape here figured. To the best of my remembrance they took the sacrament before they were led out to their death, according to what worthy persons who had been present, told me when I came to Copenhagen that autumn. When I first arrived, the pirates still hung there with no outward damage or hurt upon them, in their silken clothes with gold laces, and gold rosettes in their shoes. All this their outward magnificence became the property of the master who hanged them, and even their under-linen. And so we here finish the tale of Mandaus and his piracy, which he carried on for fifteen years, and of his ill-fortune, defeat and final melancholy demise and burial, and may the same be a warning and reminder to all the ungodly, to turn them from sinful and ungodly acts.



CHAPTER XVIII

AND when his five brothers¹ received the news they were filled with wrath and raged mightily in spirit (as I related before), and threatened great vengeance on the Danes. Our King sent out many ships of war against them every year, in case they might some time seek to carry out their threats. Now after Easter in the following year, late in April, 1616, the King ordered six fine ships of war to be prepared for fighting against these or other enemies of the kingdom or pirates who should seek out honest sailors or merchants on the waters, to their let and hindrance, and to the danger of their life or property.

It so chanced that about this time the King held a High Court at Oslo in Norway². It was about this time, too, that Christian Friis, the Chancellor, who was over fourscore years, passed away one night, after he had been conveyed from the King's table out to the mighty ship of war *Fides*, of which I have spoken before.

Now I return to my proper subject again and to the story which I set out to tell at the beginning of this chapter, namely, how I and my beloved comrade Jón Halldórsson were for the first time ordered on a voyage in His Majesty's ships of war for the good and advancement of the kingdom. In the name of God, with prayer and blessing, we sailed out from Copenhagen about midday on a Thursday, either in April or early in May, I am not able to remember clearly which; and in the evening we reached the coast off Elsinore, where Kronborg Castle stands by the Sound, and the next day thereafter we held on our course north-west out of the Sound between the two countries. Sjælland³ lies to the west right out to the Skaw, and Skåne and Halland to the east; and it is said that the distance out of Øresund away to the Skaw is twenty-four sea-miles. Then we held north along the coast of Norway,

¹ Cp. pp. 31 f. *supra*.

³ Jón must mean Jutland.

² See p. 52 *sup: a*.

until we came to Flekkerø. There we learned that a pirate ship had appeared and had seized a small vessel off the coast of Norway, and manned it with ten of their own crew, but had put the others to death, all save three. The leader of these men was one Laurids Magnusson of Norwegian stock: he was the mate of this vessel and a very sagacious man, exceptionally gifted in many matters: one who had often been in great difficulties both on sea and land. While we were together he related to me the whole story of his life, in which much was horrible to hear.

These English pirates were sent by the brothers of Mandaus to commit piracy and murder on the Danish and Norwegian coasts. They loaded the small vessel with every kind of stolen goods, clothes and many other things, and so quitted the harbour to sail northwards along the Norwegian coast on their old errand of piracy.

Now I must tell what Laurids Magnusson set about after their departure from the harbour. They had commanded him to wait there with the other pirates who were left behind on the vessel. One day he asks for two men to accompany him ashore in a boat, and also for his own two, who had been captured with him and every day pretended to serve the pirates willingly, and he gives out that he wishes to go into the country, where there were few people, there to plunder cattle to provision himself. They willingly consent to this. And when they reach the shore Laurids Magnusson seeks out the farmers who lived nearest to the harbour, and with them he makes a faithful agreement, with solemn oaths, to put these pirates to death. Early one morning this enterprise was successfully accomplished. It was agreed that Laurids Magnusson was to send them up to collect sheep, but the farmers were to lie in ambush, while his own two men were to keep near the boat and at once row away from the shore. Soon more than twenty farmers had assembled, and by signals and the signs agreed upon from the ship, gathered together in a secret place close to the shore and slew all the pirates. Thereupon the farmers went out and put the vessel into a safer harbour. Laurids Magnusson paid the farmers for their

trouble. All this had happened only a short while before our arrival from Copenhagen. Our admiral Jørgen Daa despatched the vessel to Denmark, to His Majesty

The officers on the admiral's ship, the *Victor*, were these: first we must mention the admiral Jørgen Daa, next Holger Rosenkrands¹, who was captain and who later became Governor (in Iceland), and a Swedish nobleman, Laurids Brems² by name, who with his wife and children had given himself up to our gracious lord the King in the recently concluded Swedish war of 1613. The master was Peter Nielsen³; our chaplain was Master Knud; the master of the guns was Rasmus Winter, and his mate was Jens Laurzen, a widely-travelled and experienced man, and an old warrior. On the admiral's ship were in all 130 men, if we reckon in the gunners, of whom there were 24. There were two noble squires on board, tried men, who later became yeomen of the royal guard. One of them was the sister's son of the admiral, Jens Brandt⁴; the name of the other I cannot recall.

Let us now return to our story at the time of our departure from Flekkerø, when in company with these six vessels we sailed northwards all about the coast of Norway, in and out of harbours, seeking for the said pirates, whom we did not

¹ Holger Rosenkrands of Rosenholm, 1574-1642, of a distinguished noble family, was a very learned man, a leading theologian of his time, as well as a sea-captain. He became a member of the Council at the end of this year, most of which he seems to have spent in theological studies in Germany. But it is known (Lind, p. 189) that he was Captain on the flagship that summer.

² Laurids Brems was made Captain on March 30, 1613, and was Lieutenant on *Victor* in 1616. (Lind, p. 206.) It is not known that he was Swedish, but the date of his appointment makes it likely. If Jón is right about his origin he might be of the von Brömssen family, which before receiving a Swedish patent of nobility in 1678 was called Bröms, and was of Livonian noble origin. (Cp. *Sveriges Ridderskaps och Adelskalender*, Stockholm 1922, von Brömssen.) In the last decades of the 16th century many Swedish nobles had for political reasons sought service with the King of Denmark. (*Danmarks Riges Hist.* iv, p. 138.)

³ Peter Nielsen, the master on the flagship, must be distinguished from the Peter Nielsen mentioned on p. 130, who was Captain of the *Jupiter*.

⁴ Jens Brandt was presumably a son of Henning Jørgensen Brandt of Mullerup. The relationship to Jørgen Daa cannot be demonstrated. [Communicated by the late Mr Anders Thiset, Archivist in the Rigsarkiv. R.C.]

find. Everywhere we heard of them, also when we came to the fishing-station off the Russian coast¹, to which Finns and Russians resort, called Kildin², where there were fifty-two fishing-boats. One-third of the crew of each is composed of Finns, and they have three men as magistrates. On the way thither lies the island Vardø³, on which stands a huge castle with walls of natural rock, which surround it in regular formation, and on which stand large guns for purposes of defence⁴, for this island lies far from the land, off Finmark. There is always a noble in charge who has the castle as a fief and is the chief magistrate over the Finns. At the time when we came thither on this journey, a nobleman called Hans, of Scots extraction, was governor there⁵, the same who was

¹ The Russian, Swedish and Norwegian (Danish) frontier had never been fixed and fluctuated very much. Christian IV claimed the country as far as Kandalax. (Helland, *Norges Land og Folk*, xx, pp. 698 f.) In 1520, 1598 and 1608 we hear of Lapp villages in the mountains paying taxes to the King of Sweden, the King of Norway, and also to the Grand Duke of Muscovy; and in 1614 villages by the coast are said to suffer in a similar way. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, III, pp. 537 f. and IV, pp. 227 ff., 299, 529, and *Norges Land og Folk*, xx, p. 324.) In the Peace of 1613, the Swedish King had to renounce all his rights to Lapland, but the Russian penetration was more successful. By founding monasteries the Russians gradually got a hold of the whole country, and Malmis, the present Kola, originally a Norwegian trading-station, became more and more Russian and for a time actually had a Russian vojvod (e.g. in 1588), though we find Christian IV, in 1617, still exacting taxes from it. (*N. Rigsregistranter*, IV, p. 635.) The old Russian term for Lapland was Murmanskaja Zemlja—the Norwegian coast. (*Norges Land og Folk*, xx, p. 696.) Christian IV claimed toll from all vessels which passed Vardø. Cp. A. Ræstad, *Kongens Strømme*, pp. 228 f.

² Kildin, see above p. 119.

³ A contemporary Dutch bird's-eye view of Vardø, for the use of pilots, is reproduced in Eidem og Lütken, *Vor Sæmagts Historie*, p. 214. In the *Merchants' Mappe of Commerce*, Lond. 1638, Vardø is said to have taken the place of Bergen as the most important trading-station of the North.

⁴ A member of the King's party to Vardø in 1599 describes the castle as very wretched, consisting of six small block-houses surrounded by a little rampart with four iron cannon. (Jonas Charisius, in Schlegel's *Samlung zur dän. Gesch.* I, 4tes Stück, pp. 62-3.) In 1620 the castle is reported as very decayed, but the King refuses to spend money on it. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, V, p. 118.) The cannon were needed to exact submission from foreign vessels, which were obliged to pay toll here.

⁵ Jón evidently means John Cunningham (d. 1652), a Scots noble, habitually called Hans Koning, or Køning, in official documents, a name which presumably gave rise to such explanations as Jón gives. He had

sent to our gracious King Christian IV at his coronation with the present of a magnificent ship called *Red Lion*, and for this reason he was called King Hans. He was eccentric and very unaccountable in his ways, especially when in his cups. The King once ordered him to the Sound with a ship of war, called the *Black Knight*, to waylay those vessels which sailed on the easterly side of the Sound in order to evade paying toll. In one summer he captured five vessels¹, which were sent to Copenhagen, with all kinds of goods on board, which were afterwards returned by the special grace of the King and the humble plea of their captains, amongst whom was a certain old Scotsman who begged the King on his knees and in tears to give up his ship and to pardon him. His plea was granted in consideration of his age and of his promises to conduct himself better in the future.

At the end of this year the King ordered Hans to the castle at Vardø, as he had confidence in his power to govern the Finns, and knew that he would not suffer their evil magical practices, for there were continual rumours of such crimes, and most of the castle governors who had been there had not dared to have those concerned put to death. But this one had a whole company of them thrown into fires every year, for which reason the King held him all the dearer². So long

served Frederik II as well as Christian IV, and had been Admiral of the squadron which, with the Englishman Hall as pilot, rediscovered Greenland for the Danes in 1605. But Jón makes a curious mistake in stating that Hans Koning was already Governor of Vardø, though he seems to qualify it later by saying "at the end of this year," i.e. presumably 1616. He was the Captain of the *Gabriel* which according to official records was one of the squadron in which Jón was cruising, though he does not mention the vessel. (Lind, p. 167.) We know, however, that the then Governor, Claus Gagge, had had leave to come to Copenhagen in the summer of 1616 (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, IV, p. 572), so that it is conceivable that Hans Koning took over some temporary duties at the castle on his arrival.

¹ In 1609, on the *Mackerel*, off the coast of Bohuslän, he captured some Dutch vessels attempting to export oak timbers without permission: it may be to this exploit that Jón refers.

² The King probably appointed Hans Koning because he thought he would be more energetic than his predecessor in upholding the Danish King's rights, and in his letter of appointment Hans Koning is instructed not to allow Swedes or Russians or others to penetrate the country, nor to cede more rights to them than are justly theirs. In a royal letter to his

as I had any knowledge of how matters went, he came to no harm through this action.

This Hans received us well on our arrival with the six ships of war, namely, *Victor*, *Jupiter*, *Unicorn*, *Milkmaid*, *David of Lübeck* and *Leopard*¹. And on that occasion we remained there no longer than for one night, and thence went on our course to Kildin on the Russian coast, of which I have already spoken somewhat. There we tarried for two nights, and thence set out to the north-eastward of Russia into the White Sea, as far as the Seven Islands. There the sea has the colour of milk², and it is at first very strange to look upon, until one gradually becomes accustomed to it. We were nearly a fortnight away from Kildin seeking for these pirates, but we did not find them.

At Kildin we spent six days. On the third day there visited us the commanding officer from Malmis who had 300 soldiers under him. This man was handsomely clad and had for his outermost garment a silk tunic which reached to his feet; another underneath reached to the middle of his calves, and a third reached to his knees and they were adorned with gold lace³. When he was come on board and three pieces of cannon had been fired, and the greetings were ended, he threw predecessor, however (1608), there is the following passage: "And whereas experience sufficiently shows, that the aforesaid Finnish and Lappish folk by nature and custom are inclined to magic, *and therefore Norwegians and other worthy persons do not dare to live near them, much less to settle in the fjords where there are many Finns*, thou shalt be careful to see that those who are convicted of using magic, after judgment held and sentence pronounced, shall be put to death without mercy." Persons suspected of magic are to be expelled from the country. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, iv, p. 300.) There are records of eighty persons condemned for trolldom at Vardø from 1610-88, but curiously enough only eight of these are Finns. (*Norges Land og Folk*, xx, p. 281.)

¹ Lind, p. 172, does not mention the *Milkmaid*, but says that *Gabriel* was of the squadron.

² This is only the case at certain seasons. Mr A. F. R. Wollaston, D.S.C., of King's College, Cambridge, informs me that when he first saw the White Sea in October 1914 the water was "distinctly milky," but that in May 1919 it was brown and muddy, no doubt owing to melting snows and consequent floods in the Dvina river.

³ Jonas Charisius, who visited these regions in 1599, says that the Russians who visited the *Victor* were handsomely clad in various colours, and had long garments with sleeves which fell half an ell below their hands. Then they had long under-tunics lined with lambskin, for they exchange ermine for lambskin with the English. (Schlegel's *Saml.* i, p. 67.)

off his outermost tunic and went down into the cabin with our masters with great courtesy, modesty and a cheerful bearing. While the ceremony lasted four trumpeters stood aft sounding their trumpets. The twelve soldiers who accompanied him remained in the boat all day until the evening. The admiral sent for the captains of the other ships; they were all of the nobility except one, Peter Nielsen¹ by name; there were eleven of them altogether in the whole fleet². This Russian war-captain was especially pleasant and merry, free with gold and haughty to no man, whether high or low. In a small bag which he carried in his pocket he had a great quantity of Russian money, though it was in small coins, those called *denga*³, bright silver of the value of a dried cod; of these he scattered untold numbers among us gunners at every salute with the three cannon, and also among the four trumpeters who blew the bassoon, cornet, and shawm and played on the lute: they played four instruments in harmony with masterly art. This merry-making lasted late into the day: toasts were drunk, both to the King and to the Grand Prince of Moscovia⁴, who is the overlord of all Russia and is called *tzar velicoikness*⁵ (which may be interpreted, King and Great Chief)—and further toasts to all the royal house and the Danish Council of State, and so also to the great lords of Russia. Afterwards, as the evening drew on and the admiral, the company aiding him, had feasted him as well as they could, and he showed himself ready for departure, he gave his twelve

¹ Peter Nielsen, Captain of the *Jupiter* on this expedition, was made Captain in 1610. He went to India in 1618, and seems to have returned. (Lind, p. 187.)

² Jón evidently means officers in general. We know of the following:
Victor. Jørgen Daa, Admiral; Holger Rosenkrands, Capt.; Laurids Brems, Lieutenant.

Leopard. Sigv. G. Akeleye, Capt.; Mourits Prins, Lieutenant.

Gabriel. Hans Koning, Capt.; Henrik Vind, Lieut.

Unicorn. Enevold Stygge, Capt.; Johann Sem, Lieut.

David of Lübeck. Frans Brokkenhus, Vice-Admiral; Jens Munk, Lieut.

Jupiter. Peter Nielsen. [R.C.]

³ *Denga*. In Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, II, p. 273, this word is translated as penny. For the value of a dried cod, see above, p. 59, n. 1.

⁴ *Grotfursti*—corrupted from the Dutch.

⁵ Russian: tsar i vjelikiknjaz. [S.B.]

soldiers leave to come on board, but not before, nor would they take any food or ale from us save at the last, when they were given leave thereto by their master, but they had ample food of their own, of which they partook twice that day. Before they received leave to come on board all our officers went on deck and took their seats or chairs, the admiral in the middle, Captain Holger on his right and Lieutenant Laurids Brems on his left. The gentlefolk stood round, and outside them our folk with muskets. The officer himself walked within the ring with his rod of authority or staff. Then these twelve men came on board, each with a sword at his side, and first laid down their muskets in a line along the star-board gunwale, and then entered this wide circle of men, three in a row, and out again in the same manner, until they came to the knees of our officers, when they fell on their knees. Each three bore on a painted tray a fine large freshly-caught salmon, split open, and disposed as if it were living and uncut, and each of the three humbly and respectfully knelt before our three officers, offering their salmon with great reverence, afterwards rising respectfully to their feet and withdrawing with deep bows, then very smartly taking their guns and firing them off. The other nine, who came in three parties, conducted themselves in the same manner. And when all this was over they were given gifts with the good wishes of the officers, who drank their health in wine. Thereupon they took their leave, and bowed to each in proper fashion, and so went down the side to their boat, loading their guns, which were a fathom long and all enamelled. And before their commander left he invited our admiral to bring twenty-four men to a banquet at his house, and this the admiral accepted if the wind permitted. Then, after taking his leave, and calling down a blessing on the ship and its crew, he went down the side, cheerful in temper and aspect. Thereupon three cannon were fired off on each vessel, and nine on the admiral's. Three times they waved to us and fired off their guns.

Two days after the events just related the admiral and some of the officers of the other vessels set out in our ship's boat, but we had to turn back owing to the adverse weather, and

reached our ships again with great difficulty and many exertions.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF RUSSIA¹ FOLLOWS FOR
THE INSTRUCTION OF THOSE IGNORANT
OF THE COUNTRY

Russia, which is also called Moscovia, is a land of vast boundaries with many forests, marshes and deserts, and also with many and large lakes excellent for fishing, and noble rivers. It is 500 (Danish) miles long and 350 (Danish) miles broad. It is a fruitful land, with rye, wheat, oats and wild game, and many kinds of precious furs from wild creatures. On the north side it is bounded by the Arctic Ocean and by Nova Zembla; on the east by the Caspian Sea and Great Tartary, on the south by the Crimea and Podolia, on the south-western side by Lithuania, on the west by Livonia, and on the north-west by Sweden and Courland. One part of Russia lies in Europe, and the other part in Asia. In Europe lie Moscovia and various other lands and districts. In Asia the Russians possess many regions, both of Tartary and other countries, where various savage peoples to the number of twenty-one, have their habitations, far out in the north-east². One lord and governor rules over all these countries, and is called in Russian *tzar* and *velicoikness*³, which being inter-

¹ This account of Russia is taken from the *Compendium Cosmographicum* by Hans Nansen (1598–1667), burgomaster of Copenhagen from 1644 to his death. The first edition was printed in Copenhagen in 1633, others in 1635 and 1646. There are slight differences in them. Jón used that of 1646. (See *Introd.*) Hans Nansen had been to the Kola peninsula in 1614–15, and in 1619 he penetrated as far as Petchora, spending the winter 1619–20 at Kola. He had also been in other parts of Russia. The first part of the book contains astronomical and other information: the second part, from p. 67 to 217, “tells shortly about all the known kingdoms and countries that are on the earth,” and the third part, pp. 217–315, “tells shortly about things serviceable for navigation.” The fourth part contains a chronological list “of the more important events since the beginning of the world, specially in Denmark and neighbouring lands.”

² Nansen mentions the twenty-one countries by name: “Casan, Astracan, Nagai, Volgari, Zeremisi, Mordua, Cassinon, Kirkassia, Igoria, Grusin, Viatka, Permia, Jugoria, Bolgaria, Sibirien, Kabarda, Lucomoria, Udorie, Obdora, Condora, Samoiedi; and several other countries.”

³ Nansen: *velikoi kness*.

puted is King and Great Chief, and every person conducts himself according to the will of the tzar. Over the spiritual orders is a patriarch¹, and he has certain archbishops and bishops, priests and monks under him; among the monks are many who can neither read nor write. They have the Greek religion, hold masses, pray, read and chant all in their own native tongue, which is called the Slavonic language. There are in Russia many fine large towns, but the houses are almost all built of wood and timber. Such a large town is Moscow, the capital of the whole country, and there are forty other large cities, and many others of which I make no mention here.

Off the Russian coast, far out in the sea, lies an island called Solofci, on which stands a wealthy monastery².

From these countries are exported flax, hemp, wax, tallow, and the skins of elks and other animals, sables, martens, foxes, wolves, lynx³, otter³, beavers and ermines, and other furs. Also rye, salmon, dried and salted fish, whale-oil and other wares.

The great river Volga springs up in the middle of Russia, and has a devious course until it runs into the Caspian Sea. There are situated the salt cliffs which contain so much salt that it would suffice for the whole of Christendom if they were nearer and more conveniently situated⁴. And here, for the time, we will end our account of Russia. Of their beliefs I know nothing except that I have heard that they worship the Holy Trinity and none of the saints but St Nicholas, who is said to have first offered them the Christian faith⁵. It is said that before burial they place all bodies, whether of young

¹ Until 1589 the metropolitan of Moscow had been subordinate to the Patriarchate of Constantinople: in 1589 a Patriarchate of Moscow was established. (*Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. Russian Church, p. 870.)

² Solovetzki Island.

³ The MSS. are corrupt here, and these words are from the Danish original.

⁴ Here the excerpt from Nansen ends. Nansen goes on to say that these salt cliffs provide salt for Media, Persia, Armenia, Tartary and a large part of Russia. He then describes the course of the Tanais or Don river, and of the Dnieper and Dvina.

⁵ Jón may have come to this conclusion because of the frequent occurrence of the name of St Nicholas in the region he visited. The market

or old, in the scales; the body is placed on one side and a wooden statue, made according to each man's age, on the other: if the statue proves heavier than the body, it is said that they hold that man's soul saved, but if the body is the heavier, that he is damned¹.

at Colmogro was held on St Nicholas' Day, there is an Abbey of St Nicholas and a Bay of St Nicholas beyond Colmogro. Cp. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II, pp. 215 ff., 426. There was a Trinity Church at Petschenga. (*Norges Land og Folk*, xx, p. 326.)

¹ It is difficult to say whence Jón obtained this story. It may be a combination of the common belief that the souls of dead men are weighed in the scales, with a custom which seems to have obtained in Lapland, of burying a wooden image of a man, as an offering to the god Ruto, the god of the dead. (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VII, p. 798.) The Lappish conceptions at this date were much influenced by Christian ideas, and the dead were thought either to go to heaven, or to the god of the dead, Ruto, a kind of hell. (*Norges Land og Folk*, xx, pp. 230 ff.)

CHAPTER XIX

WHEN we had stayed six days at Kildin we felt a desire to depart thence on our homeward journey. Two days previously the admiral, captain and lieutenant had purchased beforehand the catch of one whole day's fishing in fifty-two of their boats, by which they made a triple profit. My good comrade Jón Halldórsson and I cleaned all the fish which fell to the share of the lieutenant, who was a Swede¹, and he gave each of us a rixdollar and a bottle of excellent wine as long as our toil lasted.

Before the Finnish and Russian fishermen of those regions touch their boats or fishing-gear in the morning, they repair to the great crucifix which stands on the spit of land² by the harbour not far from their booths³, huts and settlements, and there they fall down and worship before it. These people eat hard salted fare, and drink brandy as if it were water, and in one drink they will swallow a pint and a half. But of this no more.

Thereupon we set our course out of the harbour and towards home, and came to Vardø castle, where King Hans was governor, and he welcomed us warmly.

During our sojourn there it happened one morning that we went ashore with our boat fully manned. The crew was to fetch water, but among them were gunners, the cook and the cellar-boy, the under-captain and the admiral's sister's son, Jens Brandt; and our purpose in going ashore was to fetch back our linen from the wash. Now it so chanced that the boat's crew had forgotten the bailer, and a storm sprang up from the south-east, the distance from the ship to the land being fully half a league. Most of us were somewhat drunk. As the squall grew in strength the boat shipped seas, but we

¹ Evidently Laurids Brems, mentioned above p. 126.

² In 1595 the Dutch found crosses set up on projecting points on the shores of the Veigat Straits. The practice is evidently a survival of the heathen Lappish holy places on the shores or islands of lakes rich in fish. (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vii, p. 797.)

³ Scheffer describes the dwellings of the Lapps in his *History of Lapland*, Oxford, 1674, ch. xvi.

could not bail. The boat was heavily laden, for there were fifty-two barrels on board, and so at last it capsized and filled; yet it did not sink altogether, but floated water-logged. No help came from the admiral's ship, though a small boat was on deck, for men feared to go out in it in a high sea, and indeed it would have been no use on account of its small size, even if they had ventured to launch it. But those in the other vessels, which lay further out, could not see what was happening, because our own ship blocked their view of us. But by signals, waving and shouting on our ship they at last got help sent to us. We lost five men in all including our cook, who died three days later. Jens Brandt and I sat in the bows, and for that reason we were first rescued. We lay in bed one day, some not at all, and others a week or less.

Two days later we left Vardø and reached the coast of Finmark and Hålogaland¹. The snow still lay in many places, though it was about Midsummer Day when we arrived. The Finns² came out to us in their boats one Sunday morning, their women and children with them, before the sermon began, and stayed until evening. They mostly wear for daily use their clothes of hairy elk-skin³, beautifully cured and decorated. They turn the rough side outermost, and the women and children, who are rather high-coloured and fine-looking, also wear these skin garments. They sold us fish in exchange for clothing for their women. I and my comrade sold them twelve ells of foreign cloth, half of it red and half of it blue⁴. It is their way to call any man kinsman with whom they are in converse. Their women wear much gold and silver in their ears, also forehead-bands and coral bracelets: those of the poorer sort wear brass, copper and bright tin in their ears⁵.

¹ Hålogaland, the old term for the whole of Northern Norway.

² For definition of "Finns" see note 2 to p. 137 below.

³ It was probably reindeer-skin. Scheffer, *op. cit.*, says their daily wear is wadmal, but for best use they have garments of reindeer-skin.

⁴ Scheffer (*op. cit.* pp. 88 f.) says they adorn their reindeer-skin garments with red or other coloured cloth, cut into the shape of flowers, stars, etc. They also like strips of coloured cloth on their shoes, and their caps are often of red or other coloured cloth.

⁵ Scheffer says their silver adornments are mostly buttons and rings, the better sort have silver and "alchymy" chains, rings, etc. up to a weight of 20 lb.

This people is almost entirely given over to magic¹, reports of which travel far, so there is no need to write further of it in this place. Three kinds of Finns are mentioned: Sea-Finns, Lapp-Finns and Fell-Finns². They give themselves out to be Christians, and some of them take the sacrament: they take their children to Norwegian ministers for baptism, though sometimes not until they are a year old. They are excellent smiths in wood and iron: they are constantly employed in building fishing-vessels³ and boats, and fashioning various other utensils and necessities. Finnish settlements⁴ are scattered widely over Norway, both by fell and fjord. They are not permitted to inhabit the same spot longer than ten years⁵; then, after obtaining permission, they establish themselves in the forests, where the trees are thick and fine, and these they root up for their needs and establish their settlement and sojourn there for the said ten years; then on their departure the Norwegians take their place and dwelling. They are much addicted to train-oil, butter and all kinds of fat from every kind of creature: this they drink like ale at their meals, and they give the train-oil to their womenfolk in pregnancy, at the time they are delivered.

¹ Even in the old Icelandic sagas the "Finns" are famous for their skill in magic.

² An anonymous work on Finmark from the 16th century (Storm, *Hist. Top. Skrifter om Norge i 16^{te} Aarh.* p. 169) says: "There are two kinds of Finns, Sea-Finns and Fell-Finns: Sea-Finns who live by the coast and Fell-Finns who live up in the fells, and these latter are called Lapps." Jón has merely made a third category by the combination "Lapp-Finns." As a matter of fact "Finn" is the old Norwegian term for the race the Swedes call "Lapps"—the word Lapp is much later, and in Norway was regarded as a term of contempt. The Swedes probably adopted the word to avoid confusion with the inhabitants of Finland proper, whom the Norwegians called *Kuæner* or *Finlændinger*. (In Modern Swedish *Finlander* means a Swedish-Finn.) The Sea-Finns are generally supposed to be a degenerate branch of the Fell-Finns, condemned by poverty and lack of reindeer to abandon the nomadic life.

³ Cp. Scheffer, *op. cit.* ch. xxi.

⁴ In Jón's time only in the northern parts of Norway. But the old Norwegian laws (13th century) indicate that in old times there were settlements of Finns much further south.

⁵ There does not appear to be any law to this effect, but the Finns were naturally nomadic. In the Viking Age they seem to have cleared a great deal of forest land in the North of Norway. (Cp. A. Hansen, *Landnám i Norge*, p. 199.)

CHAPTER XX

THENCE we held on our course and passed close beneath the mountain called North Cape, which is a headland or crag to the north-west of Finmark or Hålogaland. And one morning early, as we were sailing by, five large vessels were sighted from the mast-head. These vessels were sailing eastwards towards Russia and would meet us, and we dreaded lest they came with hostile intent, which however proved not to be the case. All the hammocks slung under the deck were immediately cut down and, together with all bed-coverings, stowed in the hold with the greatest haste: the port-holes were opened, the cannon made ready, powder stored in bags; and half of the crew were ordered to attend to the sailing in the engagement, while the other half was to handle the muskets, those we call match-locks, in which task many of them were unpractised and awkward. Brandy was brought up in pint kegs and given to the crew, and flags were hoisted. An admiral has his standard or flag on the mainmast head¹, a vice-admiral on the foremast head, a rear-admiral² on the mizen head, and the other ships have their flag forward on the bowsprit, on the sprit-mast, which they call *gickmers*; and no one may do contrary to this on pain of death. Afterwards the vessel *Unicorn* was sent to beat up into the wind to get past them, for that vessel sailed the best of our ships, and then it sailed back before the wind. Each of their ships sailed towards us, their admiral last, and on his ship were four trumpeters who blew merrily. We hailed the vessel that came first and asked who they were and whence they came. They said they were sailing from Hamburg eastwards to Russia, to the place called Archangel, with merchandise. The admiral

¹ Art. 47 of the Naval Regulations of 1582. (Secher, *Forordn.* II, pp. 243 ff.)

² Jón calls a rear-admiral *skotvanacter*, corrupted from the Dutch *Schout bij nacht*, older Dan. *schout bynakt*. [S.B.]

ordered them to come on board and show their pass or letter of permission granting sailing-leave in Danish waters¹, which they and the other vessels obstinately refused to do until their admiral should arrive. They would not lower their topsail, but ran up into the wind and let their sails flap. Now when their admiral arrived, our admiral spoke clearly and curtly to him, and bade him come on board to us at once with his letter of permission, which he loudly refused to do, bidding us launch our boat, and saying that they were as good as we. When our admiral heard that, standing by the mizen-mast with his battle-sword, he snatched off his hat and dashed it under his feet, and called out in a clear voice, saying in German², "Wer bi sein," which may be interpreted, "Each to his place." And when they saw our crew separate each to his work and heard the alarm sounded on the drum, their admiral was quick to run aft with a white linen cloth, which he held aloft, calling out loudly: "Pes! Pes! Pes!"³ that is to be interpreted a cry for peace. Meanwhile, others of them cut loose their boat and launched it, and the officers of all five ships and their admiral came on board our vessel, bowing and demanding peace, and gave as compensation twelve tuns of good Hamburg ale, a barrel of butter, a barrel of cheese and two barrels of salted herrings. And in the evening a feast and entertainment was made for them, and the reindeer which we had on board from Finmark was handed over to them as a gift, and so we parted with farewells and firing of guns and to the sound of trumpets.

The second day after this there was a council or meeting held on the flagship and a great gathering of the officers of all the fleet; and it was decided that we should steer for Iceland, to help the Icelanders, according to the royal mandate, against all piratical enemies, especially the Spaniards, who were expected up here, according to the general opinion, to take vengeance for those Spaniards who were killed here in

¹ The King of Denmark, being also King of Norway, claimed all these waters as "Danish." See Introd.

² Low German.

³ Probably the French "paix," 16th century form "pais."

1615¹: the which vengeance our heavenly Lord and beloved Almighty Father was pleased to foil. Praise be to His glorious name for all His benefits. Amen.

Thereupon we held away from the North Cape on the course to Iceland. We had a good and fair wind, and were three weeks on the way, and first saw land off Húsavík². We sailed hither about mid-morning, and men held that that course had not been sailed for 300 years³. To the east of Húsavík, in the evening, while the evening hymn was being sung, we all but came to harm on a skerry which lies far from the land. But it so chanced, most fortunately, that on that one occasion, though it was not his custom, the admiral was pacing the decks and observed the skerry, though only late because we were steering straight for it and the ship's side hid it. According to custom, we were sailing ahead of the other vessels. And because the vessel veered a little out of its course by accident, while the helmsman turned the hour-glass, the admiral was able to perceive the sunken reef, which else was hidden by the ship, and he shouted to the helmsman in a loud voice to keep the vessel still further out. At his shout every man leapt from his seat, and the ship passed so close to the reef on the starboard side that a man might have thrown whatever he fancied on to it from the gunwale. Thereupon a signal was made with all speed to the vessels that were following. This was one of the uncountable miracles of the Almighty Lord, and after it a general thanksgiving was held on the ship. Then we sailed eastwards along the coast in this direction, as far as Eyjafjöll⁴. There sprang up a gale from the north-west which lasted more than a fortnight, daily increasing in violence,

¹ It was late in 1616 that two wrecked Spanish crews plundered in Strandir (N.W. Iceland). Eighteen were killed by Ari Magnússon and his men at Sandeyri and on the island of Æðey (see map) and thirteen in Dýrafjörð. (*Annaler Björns á Skarðsa*, 1616.) Jón must be thinking of the pirates who came in 1615: cp. note 3 to p. 31. There may well have been Spaniards among them.

² Húsavík, on the north coast.

³ Presumably since the time of the Icelandic Commonwealth, when the Icelanders had their own vessels. In 1618 Captain Niels Rosenkrands is ordered to sail from Iceland to Vardø. (H. G. Garde, *Efterretninger*, I, p. 93.)

⁴ On south coast. Their course evidently lay round the east coast.

and men thought it must be brought on by magic, for those on land would think these six vessels of ours to be the enemy's ships bound for vengeance, which were so dreaded, as I mentioned before. The admiral had planned to bring the fleet in to Hafnarfjörð¹, if fortune had permitted it, and to betake himself to the *Althing* [Parliament], and I and my comrade Jón Halldórsson were to journey thither with him. Meanwhile, half the ships were to lie in Hafnarfjörð, and the other half were to sail hither to Ísafjörð Deeps, to discover whether the Spaniards had come there. This plan was brought to nothing, for the contrary winds foiled it, and we were obliged, willy nilly, to sail off to the Faroes. It was in the evening, about the time that cattle are driven home for milking, that we sailed away from the Eyjafjöll mountains, and the next evening we were off the Faroes, which lie fully seventy (Danish) miles away², and yet the vessel ran only under her mainsail, for the foresail could not be used, the wind being dead aft. Moreover, the sea ran so high that no one could go further forward than amidships, and the ship often threw spray from her bowsprit right over her topmast. Two of our vessels could not make the Faroes and did not know where they were, until they found themselves off Lindesnes³ in Norway, and they ran all that distance in three days from here. Both they and we each thought the other was lost.

We stayed a whole fortnight in the Faroes, and lay in the harbour at Thorshavn, which is the market-town. The ship lay in a fjord called Calaman⁴. Further out in the fjord, at Lambhauge, dwelt the law-man Mikkel⁵, whose guests some

¹ Hafnarfjörð, a few miles south of the modern Reykjavík.

² See note 6 to p. 16 *supra*.

³ Lindesnes, the extreme southernmost point of the mainland of Norway.

⁴ Jón probably means Sölmundarfjörð, which in ordinary conversation is called Sölmundi: it is a district on Østerø to the east of Skálafjörð. In the map in N. Andersen's book, *Færøerne 1600-1709*, the district is called Solmunde. From thence Lambhauge is "further out," but it is not in the same fjord, but in Lambavík. There is, however, only a narrow isthmus between the fjords, and it is quite natural that Jón should think that Lambhauge belonged to the Skálafjörð district. [Communicated to Mr Blöndal by the late Professor Björn M. Ólsen.]

⁵ Mikkel Joensen of Lambhauge was not the law-man (Dan. *Laugmand*) of the Faroes, but only one of the six deemsters, *laugrettesmænd*, members

of us were for two nights, namely I and some others, together with the admiral himself and the captains of the four vessels. We were handsomely entertained with many kinds of food and liquor, *vis.*, three kinds of mead, many kinds of wine, Hamburg ale, Lübeck ale, Rostock ale¹, Trondhjem ale, Copenhagen ale of two kinds, and three kinds of English ale, *vis.*, ale², strong beer³, and ship's ale. There was merry-making of every kind, music of various kinds, and dancing and ring-games⁴ after the Faroese fashion, with ballads and singing. We also went with the admiral to a carousal at a widow's house; she was the mother of Jón Ólafsson the Faroese⁵, at that time fourteen years of age, whom we took with us to Denmark. He took service with a nobleman and got five farms here in Álfafjörð as a fief for three years.

On the vessel called the *Unicorn* it so befell that the ship's mate was hanged from the bowsprit, not for theft, but for another kind of ugly deed, namely, that out of laziness, in the great storm I have spoken of as we came from Iceland, he obeyed a call of nature (begging my reader's pardon) in the room which was used as a bread-store. He was buried by the

of the Court, of Østerø, an island which formed one of the six districts of the Faroes. The deemsters were, in theory, judges, as in the old Norwegian and Icelandic constitution, but as it frequently happened in the Faroes that not one of them could read, the real authority lay with the sworn clerk or sorenskriver. In 1624 four of the other deemsters of Østerø had it recorded in the records of the annual meeting that they would not sit in the Court with Mikkel Joensen, because he was a hypocrite and slanderer. The law-man at this time (1608-28) was Zacharias Tormodsen of Eide. In his letter of appointment he is called Thormundsson. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, IV, p. 248.) Cp. N. Andersen, *Færøerne* 1600-1799, pp. 171 ff., 210, Cop. 1895.

¹ Of these, Hamburg ale was considerably the most expensive. Comparatively little Lübeck ale was imported: in 1615 only 112 barrels to Copenhagen as against over 18,000 of Rostock ale. Cp. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavn's Hist.* IV, pp. 145, 206. Jón mentions all the different kinds of beer with a certain wistfulness, because since 1602 no other ale but Danish might be exported to Iceland. Cp. *Ann. Björns á Skarðsá*, Tom. I, sub anno 1602.

² *All.*

³ *Strangbýr.*

⁴ Ring-dances, danced to chanted ballads, an old form of amusement in the North, preserved to this day in the Faroes.

⁵ Jón Ólafsson the Faroese was Sheriff (*sýslumaður*) in Snæfellsnes up to 1640, and later became a tenant of the King in the *sýsla* of Ísafjörð. Cp. vol. II. We hear of him at the Althing from 1635. Cp. B. Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir*, II, p. 84; III, p. 115 and note. [References from S.B.]

Faroese farmers, by leave of the admiral, which yet was hard to obtain. Thereupon another was appointed to his post with grave admonitions, and at a gathering on board the *Unicorn*, when the ships' crews were called together, the admiral in a loud voice sternly enjoined on us all to avoid every kind of fault and breach of regulations, whether open or secret, in deed or in word, and to apply ourselves to our work and calling in the fear of God and all heedfulness, so that none should bring upon himself nor upon his ship-mates God's wrath and condign punishment. All promised to do their best with the aid of God.

When we reached the Faroes there were on the flagship twenty-two men sick of the scurvy, and I and my comrades were ordered on shore in turn to tend them with fresh food, wine and milk, so that none of them died, save one, a Norwegian named Thord. All these were in one room at a farm owned by a man called Olaf, a smith skilled in all kinds of iron work. This man proved exceedingly kind to me. He had learnt his art in Trondhjem. He had two barrels of English strong beer when I came, and kept them chiefly for my use. I gave him one Icelandic book and sold him another; they were: *The Immortality of the Soul*¹ and *Enchiridion*². He read them easily, for there was no great difference between their tongue and ours, and it was the same in many ways with their customs, in the making of sour milk, whipped milk, unsalted food, smoke-hung meat and hammered fish, as also in the costume of the women, their head-covering, cloaks and gowns, footgear and other wear. But now Danish manners have come in there, both in churches and in the world, with the ordinary Danish language. The dress of the men was previously similar

¹ The title is *Christeleg Vnderuissun Um odaudleika Salarennar*, "Christian Teaching about the immortality of the Soul," printed at Hólar in Iceland, in 1601.

² *Enchiridion*, printed at Hólar in 1600, put together by Bishop Guðbrand Thorláksson from the works of Dr Chytræus and Magister Chemnitius. The first part contains a rhymed calendar, followed by instructions for finding the lessons appointed for the day, etc. The second part is a collection of prayers and a selection from the Psalms of David. The name is perhaps taken from the *Enchiridion Theologicum* of the Danish theologian Niels Hemmingsen, d. 1600.

to ours, save that on ordinary days many farmers and labourers wore long breeches, with jerseys of Faroese wadmal, and had hairy shoes, the upper parts and edges of which were like those of the Finns and Courland folk.

They told me that there were fifteen parishes in the Faroes and one rural dean, but no bishop. Of the islands, seven are large and ten small, and on them all there were at that time 300 farmers. The admiral sent an imperative command to them all that they should come to see him, and that each of them should bring a sheep with him for the refreshing of the ships' crews. This they gladly did, one and all, and brought in addition fresh milk and cheeses. The admiral apportioned the farmers among the four vessels, and on four several days a feast was held, one on each of the four ships, as the admiral arranged and ordered it in his kindness, so that honour and service might be shown to the inhabitants by each in turn. The banquet of the first day was held on the *Victor* in especially fine weather. Tables were set up on the decks and seats placed round them; at these tables sat the admiral and all the officers. The trumpets blew three times to call all to table, and then after Grace there was eating and drinking and toasts drunk. Six hundred salutes were fired on that day and trumpets were sounded in between. Their cattle on land became frantic with fear at the sound of the cannon. When the farmers became tipsy, they showed us every kind of entertainment after their fashion, with the admiral's permission. The same was done on the other ships, and the admiral was bidden thither with our other officers. The second day a feast was held on the *Jupiter* in the same style, and 700 shots fired. The third day it was held on the *David* and 800 shots fired: the fourth day on the *Unicorn* and 900 shots fired, and on that occasion a man called Leon Friis was hurt by one of the guns and lost two fingers of his left hand, and was long in healing. That same day a woman on the shore was much terrified because it happened while she was milking her cow in the evening that a cannon ball¹ penetrated a tussock close to the peg to which

¹ In those days salutes were fired with shot, it is supposed because they made more noise. It is said that this preference for saluting with shot

the cow was fastened: the cow was startled and broke away and spilt the milk, and the woman lay long in a swoon. This same evening I had gone ashore to attend to the sick, and with me an excellent man called Gottske, in whose charge I had in some sort been placed for instruction in my calling. He had long been in the service of gentlefolk, and was a clever fellow in many ways, but not fitted for the sea by reason of sea-sickness, by which he was often sorely plagued. I had oft to tend him as if he had been my father, and for this cause I became as dear to him as a son. And when a younger and less experienced man is put under the charge of another older and wiser in their common work, and cannon are allotted to them which they must tend for dear life, keeping water out of them so as to have them in good order when needed, that there be no check or hindrance in them through carelessness or neglect, lest a misfortune should befall themselves, then these younger ones are called by the older prentices or underlings, and such was I to this man. Now I must tell how this same woman came to us weeping and in great terror. We comforted her as best we could and entertained her with what was to hand, so that she recovered herself. We advised her to dig up the ball out of the tussock, and next morning to get a man with a boat and have herself ferried out to the flagship when we had returned to it, and she was to show the ball and we would let the admiral know all that had happened, and so she would get a rixdollar for the ball¹, and perhaps more, if luck favoured her. And so it happened: we had come back to the ship, and when the woman came, I made known to the admiral all that had happened. The woman was called before the admiral and took the ball with her and displayed it to him. He at once handed her a rixdollar and gave her an

was the actual cause of the (Scandinavian) Seven Years' War. Three Danish ships saluting the Swedish fleet in 1563 were unfortunate enough to tear a small piece out of a Swedish sail (Troels Lund, in *Hist. Tidskr.* iv, pp. 199-206, and *Dagligt Liv*, p. 162). A French visitor to Copenhagen describes his horror at finding that the cannon balls fired from the ships are flying close to the horses and carriages where he lands. (*Den Store Bilager*, p. 112.)

¹ A small sum was paid for cannon balls dug up by farmers and returned. (Blom, p. 13.)

old but still good shirt, and much meat and bread, and ordered all on board to treat her well, which was done, so that she got more than five and a half rixdollars with what was given her by the captain and crew of the *Unicorn*, from which the shot was fired. She gave me a blessing whenever she saw me on shore.

After a fortnight's time, we took sail thence and so home to Denmark with no mischance. And when we reached St Anne's Quay¹, we saw one of the King's war-ships sail furiously after us with lowered flag on the topmast, which greatly terrified us, as we thought our King must be either sick or dead. This ship was the *Fides*, one of the finest of the King's war-ships, and it had on board the body of the Chancellor, who had recently died at Oslo, as I have related before².

¹ St Anne's Quay: see note 4 to p. 60 *supra*.

² Cp. p. 52 above.

CHAPTER XXI

ON this our return, each of us was welcomed according to the friends he possessed. We had been out twenty-two weeks.

The following winter I stood guard at the Royal Arsenal, together with my best comrade, Jón Halldórsson and other worthy men who became my friends, and all went smoothly at that time for all in the service, myself and others. Glory and praise be to God.

The next spring, 1617, the King sent our four war-ships out on a cruise, and that summer we met with no pirates. And when we returned, the King set himself to make trial of his ship, the new *Patientia*, and we with him, and it went aground and capsized in the great storm¹, as I have told before. This ship had previously been called *Caritas*.

The following spring, 1618, twenty-four men from the country of the Biscayans² which lies between France and Spain, came in to Copenhagen to our King Christian IV to hunt whales, in pursuance of his gracious command. The winter before the King had two vessels, the *Unicorn* and the *Lamprey*, made ready. They were to pass that spring through Veigat³, and we were to go with two vessels to Greenland, to the part named Spitzbergen⁴. During the

¹ The order of events must have been somewhat different. The storm was on April 29, so that it is highly improbable that the cruise had taken place before it. It seems that after taking the King to Norway (May 7-14) some of the ships which had accompanied him cruised in the North Sea looking for pirates, so that if Jón was on this expedition he must have left Copenhagen soon after arriving there (p. 60), or else, which seems more likely, not have returned to Copenhagen until some weeks later.

² Búskaia. Basques were called Biscayans in English at this period, Buskaier in Danish. They were pioneers in whale-fishery, having already whaled off Greenland and Newfoundland in the 16th century. Cp. Ræstad, *Kongens Strømme*, pp. 218 ff. The name Biscayer's Hook in Spitzbergen commemorates their presence there.

³ Jón seems to have been thinking of the Kara Straits, but if Veigat was spoken of it must have been Veigat (Disco Bay) on the W. Greenland coast; see below.

⁴ Spitzbergen (and also Novaya Zemlja) was reckoned as a part of Greenland, as can be seen in the map of the Icelander Guðbrand Thorlacius, 1606: cp. *Meddelelser fra Grønland*, Bd. ix (1889), Plate II. Hans

winter our officers at the Arsenal sought to discover with fair words those who would be willing to go to Veigat. Some were caught by fair words, others not. Once I was called into the secretarial office where all the officers were seated together, and the master promised me a month's wages and good pay if I would go on that voyage—for at that time I stood high in Adolph Grabow's favour. I answered him and asked for a respite till next morning, with which they were fain to content themselves. The next morning, after the usual muster was over, I was called into the office and again asked what was now in my mind with regard to the matter previously discussed, and I refused entirely, for in the night, while I slept, that journey had been forbidden to me. Afterwards a man called Rasmus Russ was gotten in my stead, a gunner's mate, and I was intended for that same office, if I had been willing to go; the gunner himself was called Niels Skoster, an excellent man. The captain was Jens Munk¹, a nobleman, a cousin of the King's spouse, the Lady Christine. He was an unusually wise man, specially learned in the movements of the heavens and astronomy or navigation; he was therefore

Nansen, *Compendium Cosmographicum* (see p. 132, note 1 *supra*) 1st ed. p. 166, calls it Greenland and says it lies N.N.E. of the North Cape. "Some think it is a part of Greenland: it was discovered by the English: thither sail every year many ships from England, Denmark and Holland: by the Dutch it is called Spitz Bergen."

¹ Jens Munk, b. 1579, d. 1629, the famous explorer, son of Erik Munk, was of an old family, originally noble, from Halland. No connection can be traced between it and the Danish noble family to which Christine belonged (see p. 114 above). Jens' father Erik distinguished himself in naval warfare and was rewarded by various fiefs, but was thrown into prison on a charge of oppression and extortion, committed suicide there and was buried under the gallows. (*Danske Adels Kalender*, xx (1905), p. 324, and *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*.) Jens' mother was an unfree woman, and as he was moreover probably born out of wedlock, and his father's property was forfeit to the crown, he inherited almost nothing, and went to sea at the age of twelve. After many adventures, chiefly in Bahia, he returned to Denmark and was appointed naval captain by Christian IV in 1611. Of the forty-eight men on the *Unicorn* and the eighteen men on the *Lamprey* only two returned from the search for the North-West passage. With these two Jens contrived to reach Norway on the *Lamprey* at the end of 1620. In 1718 the English found one of his guns, with Christian IV's mark on it, where it had been abandoned in Hudson Bay. Cp. Lind, pp. 193 ff.; Eidem og Lütken, pp. 266 ff.; *Danebrog*, II, 1882, pp. 529-43; Knudsen, J., *Den danske Ishavsfarer Jens Munk*, Cop. 1902. His own journal, *Navigatio septentrionalis*, is published by Lauridsen.

the commanding officer of both vessels, the *Unicorn* and the *Lamprey*, for which an excellent crew was selected. And in the spring of 1618 these two ships started from Copenhagen at the same time as ourselves and two vessels belonging to citizens, so that we were six together, and those two vessels were bound on a whale-fishing expedition to the same quarter as ourselves¹. Each of our four whaling-vessels had eleven Biscayans on board and ten whaleboats of the kind called Zelupers, that is to say, sea-runners. These boats consist of four separate parts which can be screwed together, and during the voyage they were in pieces and stowed away in a special part of the ship. We got a fair wind out of the Sound and held on our course all together along the Norwegian coast past the North Cape in Nordland, which was once called Hálogaland and Bjarmaland², and which lies contiguous to Finmark. There we parted with Jens Munk and wished each other God-speed. I seem to remember that he steered a nor'-nor'west course, but we a nor'-nor'easterly one. We got a very good favouring wind for a fortnight; and when we caught sight of Greenland, which is a country of monstrously high mountains, and came under its west-south-westerly corner, we were greatly rejoiced.

Now I must say, what I have alluded to before, that in this year a great plague raged in Denmark, so that in Denmark itself 7000 persons died³; and this kind of plague had now broken out in our flagship, which was called the *Hector*. Our admiral was Henrik Vind⁴, a very great nobleman, brother

¹ Jens Munk does not mention the companionship of the other vessels. He states that he left Copenhagen on May 9, got out of the Sound on May 16, and on May 30 set his course W.N.W. In Christian IV's Calendar it is noted that the *Unicorn* and *Lamprey* started on May 16 (presumably out of the Sound) (*Nyt Hist. Tidsskr.* iv, p. 360), but the King would hardly be likely to note whether the other vessels started at the same time. Henrik Vind, Jón's chief, received his instructions on May 7. (Lind, p. 209.)

² The old names for the northern provinces of Norway.

³ For this plague see note 1 to p. 106 *supra*.

⁴ Henrik Vind, of Grundet, Aggersvold and Klarupgaard, b. 1594, d. 1633, was of an old Danish noble family. After seeing some service abroad he was made naval captain in 1616, Admiral in 1627. With Niels Hammer he had shared the command of Bremerholm for a time in 1618. (Lind, pp. 60, 208 ff.)

to that Jørgen Vind¹ who, together with Frederik Friis, was sent here by the Chancery at one time. Henrik's lieutenant was also a nobleman, by name Mogens Krabbe²: he sickened of the plague and died while we were sailing northwards along the coast, and the admiral paid the whole crew of the vessel to take his body to shore according to ancient ship's custom, which we complied with unwillingly, for there sprang up at once a violent south-east gale, so that we were nearly lost, and our main topmast was carried away. This great storm parted us from the other vessels, so that we did not see them for a whole week, nor come within sight of land until all made vows to God, and He granted us His grace to approach land again at the spot called by the Dutch Thomas Smith's Bay³, twenty miles further north-west than the place we intended to shelter in. At the end of a long fjord in this Thomas Smith's Bay lay three huge English ships of war, which had also come for whale-fishing, besides four Dutch vessels and the two from Copenhagen which had been in our company and have been mentioned before; their masters were Berndt Berntz and Niels Honning⁴.

¹ Jørgen Vind, of Gundestrup, was born in 1593, travelled abroad from 1607-12, became a member of the Council of State in 1640, and in 1643 Admiral of the Kingdom, died as a result of wounds in the naval battle off Kolberger Heide, 1644. In 1618 he had been sent with Frederik Friis on an enquiry into the conduct of the Governor of Iceland, Herluf Daa, which resulted in Daa's dismissal with heavy fines. [R.C.]

² Mogens Krabbe became Captain on March 10 (Lind, p. 215), 1619. He was a son of the noble Tyge Krabbe of Bustrup. [Communicated by the late Mr Thiset to R.C.]

³ Thomas Smiðs Bæ. According to Sir W. M. Conway it is the bay now usually called Wijde Bay. (*The First Crossing of Spitsbergen*, p. 297.) The *Encycl. Brit.* says that Sir Thomas Smith's Bay corresponds to Foreland Sound (Dutch Keerwyk).

⁴ In 1619 the King had founded a "Greenland Company" in which the citizens of Copenhagen were interested. We know that two vessels were sent out by it in 1619. Danish whale-fishing did not flourish however, and the Company came to an end in 1623. Cp. Norman, in *Tidskrift for Søvesen*, II, pp. 1-2. Berndt Berntz was no doubt a member of the Copenhagen burgess family Berens of Copenhagen, which was much interested in whale-fishery and trade in the northern seas. We hear of Niels Honning already in 1613 as merchant captain: in 1627 he became naval captain. He took part in the war (1625-9) [against the Emperor and the League] and died in 1629. [R.C.] He was sent to Iceland with the Governor Holger Rosenkrands in 1628 and 1629. [S.B.]

Now we must tell how we came to the mouth of the said fjord within which, near a sea-mile away, lay the three huge English ships of war. We did not know how our consorts, the other three ships, had fared, whether they were safe or lost. When these three English vessels heard our shots, they sent out from the flagship a boat manned by a picked crew and the lieutenant, to find out what manner of men we were: these were well received by us and plied with food and drink¹. The admiral persuaded their lieutenant to order four of his men to dig a grave that night, so that it might be ready in the morning, and gave them a rose noble for their trouble. The next morning very early the same English boat came and took on board our officers and the body, for which an inner and an outer coffin had been made, one of oak and one of deal. We were to follow in our boat, which was manned by a picked crew, and also contained our gunner, Niels Damsgaard, a worthy old man, and four of us gunners' mates. On the way, we came across a dead walrus, whose teeth are worth their weight in silver, and on the English boat they killed another, which was presented to our admiral. And as we approached the fleet with the body, three cannon were fired in salute on each of their vessels. On our boat we had three small bronze guns, called Falcons², and it was arranged that they should be fired off when the funeral discourse came to an end and the body had been placed in the grave; at which moment the admiral was to give me a signal with his kerchief. But while the discourse was proceeding, I considered the arrangement of the guns and the gun-carriage, which was placed forward

¹ In 1616 Christian IV issued a communication to other governments that he could only permit whale-fishery at Spitzbergen on acknowledgment of his suzerainty as King of Norway and only to vessels furnished with a pass. The English King had acquiesced. (Cp. Record Office, State Papers Foreign, Denmark, 1612-24, pp. 158 f.) In his instructions to Gabriel Kruse, May 21, 1615, the Danish King directs that if necessary Kruse is to fight foreign vessels. (Cp. *Cancelliets Brevbøger*, 1609-15, p. 801.) Finally, however, there was a kind of tacit agreement between the Danish, Dutch and English that each nation was to tolerate the others' whale-fishery. (Ræstad, *op. cit.* p. 224.)

² Falkónur, falcon: the commonest type of gun, with a cannon-ball weighing up to 1 lb. Eighty-seven were cast at Kronborg between 1609-12, and these weighed from 160 to 180 lbs. (Blom, pp. 171, 230.)

across the boat, and I thought at once that the fixing was not strong enough. Accordingly, I took all loose thwarts out of the boat and laid them along the gunwale, so that I could throw myself backwards if it should be necessary, and it served me well, for when I fired off the first gun the fixing became loose, and with the second everything broke loose at once and flung the guns aft. Yet because I was able to throw myself backwards in the boat, and especially because God aided me, I escaped all injury for that time. Then I went ashore to where they were collected round the grave and were singing the last verse of the funeral hymn. As soon as they had covered their heads, the admiral asks me what became of the last gun in the Danish salute¹. I excused myself, pleading the mishap that had occurred, but he was not satisfied, and with overbearing mien and violent wrath drew his sword, which hung in a gold-embroidered belt at his side. He appeared to wish to strike me dead at once, but I leapt from him and his blow as speedily as I might run. But just as he was about to strike me dead², he stumbled into a snow-hole (for snow and ice lay almost everywhere), so that his hat flew off and he almost fell himself, but the English captains seized hold of him and soothed him, saying such mischances may often occur. But he would not believe that it was an accident. Then three guns were fired on board each of the English vessels. My gunner, the artillery-master, Niels Damsgaard, sympathised with my troubles and went to examine matters on the shore, and found everything exactly as I had said. Then the admiral received an invitation from the English admiral, which he only accepted unwillingly because of his continued anger, not with me but with our two carpenters, whose work seemed to him untrustworthy, and he considered that it had brought disgrace upon us, and also might have caused a misfortune or a mishap. The English entertained him and us very finely, adding music and the blowing of

¹ *Danmerkur lausn*, i.e. *Danmarks Løsen*, three shots. [S.B.]

² The artillerymen seem to have been made responsible for mishaps: in 1589 two were shot in Copenhagen and one in Kronborg because a gun had burst. *Cp. Museum*, 1892, 1, pp. 52 ff.

trumpets to an abundance of wine and ale and victuals. The admiral was so testy on that occasion that he forbade us to come aboard the English flagship. But nevertheless, we received all manner of good things from them.

Now I must tell how when we had been a short time at the ship's side there arrived the captain of the other Danish ship of war. His name was Gabriel Kruse¹, and in the storm he had been parted from us with the two citizens' vessels. He was warmly welcomed and lavishly entertained for as long as the admiral was pleased to remain. But because of his ill humour he would not stay long on board. On our departure they fired off thirty salutes and blew trumpets, and so we parted from each other in all friendliness. Gabriel Kruse came in our boat, and on the way out to the ships, which lay at the mouth of the fjord, our talk fell on what had happened in the affair mentioned before, and Gabriel thought the admiral had made somewhat much of it, and declared that I deserved some friendly consideration for such a perilous mishap, especially as I was in no way at fault. The admiral made but little demur to this, but vowed a condign punishment to pay out the wretched carpenters. And as soon as we were on board, the admiral ordered these two carpenters to be placed forward in the ship's head in irons until the next morning, and then the affair was to be looked into at a Court and such punishment be meted out as they were considered to deserve: either to be keel-hauled three times or else to be swung nine times into the sea from the main-yard. But in the morning it chanced that Captain Gabriel came very early to our ship to dissuade our admiral from this course, and he succeeded in having them delivered, but they were to stand their trial when next there was a ship's Court. However, the whole affair was soon forgotten and never mentioned again.

¹ Here Jón confuses the name of the Captain with that of the vessel. There was a Captain Gabriel Kruse at this time, but it was Enevold Kruse who was on this expedition, commanding the *Gabriel*. Cp. Lind, p. 175. The Kruses were of an old Jutland noble family.

CHAPTER XXII

THEN we left that place and held on an easterly course along the coast, until we came to the other harbour (at the mouth of which an English vessel was lying), in which we were to have taken shelter with the two royal vessels while we tarried in that country. Immediately they sent out their boat to the harbour-mouth to meet us, and welcomed us joyfully with salvoes and trumpet-blowing.

On the shore stood large buildings which the English had erected some years before¹, and in one of them an Englishman had lived alone a whole year through. It had happened through the boastful talk of himself and another, for they were disputing, and one said he could remain there and wait, with God's help, until the ship came back, whereat the other contradicted him stoutly, and they made a wager between them of a hundred dollars, and this sum was to be paid to the captain out of their wages. They left with him all necessary things, such as food, wine, ale, firewood, three muskets and sufficient powder, a sword, water, salt and what else might be serviceable to him, also a Bible, hymn-book and prayer-book. Night and day he had a light burning, and he had his bed close to the stove, which was in the middle of the floor. At times he would read, at times sing, at times play on his viol, which he also had with him, and sometimes he made heel-pieces for black wooden shoes: of these he made a whole barrelful. The frost was so bitter in the winter that everything froze that was turned away from the fire, even if it was quite close. God guarded him so miraculously that he took no harm, and kept his health through all until the spring came in the month of July, when ships arrived thither from England. And when men landed and went up to the house in which he dwelt, they heard him within singing to a fair

¹ At this time (and until about 1637), the art of melting down blubber on ship-board had not yet been discovered. It was done on shore, and no doubt the large buildings Jón mentions were for this purpose. Cp. Ræstad, *Kongens Strømme*, p. 224.

melody a poem of 100 stanzas, which he had composed in the winter. Close to the house they found three dead Polar bears that he had shot through the window, which was closed from within by shutters. They thought that he was dead, and when they first heard his voice they were terrified. Afterwards they welcomed him with great joy, and he them likewise. And so he won all the wager-money by his daring, and when he came back to England, he was received like an angel, if one may so speak, and great gifts were made to him by the gentry. This had happened two years before I came thither with my comrades; and so I end that tale¹.

Then we heard that the citizens' ships had arrived at the harbour where they intended to lie, sixteen miles from us, which was also the anchorage of the English and Dutch², where they sojourned and accomplished their work, as was said before.

Then the admiral had tents made out of sails put up on shore for the use of those persons who were to be employed in rendering down the blubber, and they took a week's provisions with them. Every time we came on shore they received us warmly and entertained us as well as they were able with food and ale; and so likewise did the English. When we landed there was nothing to walk on save blue glacier ice and hurtful sharp-pointed stones. A blade of grass or the like was nowhere to be seen, and yet reindeer and Polar bears nourish themselves full well. Of the said reindeer we captured twenty-two, and I was often made very weary on such expeditions with the admiral himself, who promised me for my toil great rewards, the which however I never saw. Of these reindeer three would go to a barrel, or sometimes three and a half, sometimes two and a half. Their fat is mostly on the loins, where it is two handbreadths thick: they have horns like those of a stag which they also resemble in swiftness. Their hoofs are like those of oxen, and so also their skins, which are of a grey hue. Moss is their food, as it is also the food of the

¹ I have found no reference to this incident in other sources.

² Dutch whale-fishing began shortly after the English. The English Muscovy Company established their whaling industry in 1611.

bears¹, which are yet of an extraordinary size and fatness. There were no other creatures to be seen there save foxes, and these mostly white. We intended to take one of these to Denmark, but in this we did not succeed owing to the foxy stink, and the barrel in which the beast was kept was flung overboard with it. There were no other birds than eider-ducks, common gulls, skuas, and harlequin ducks². The gulls fly into a man's hand, but they are not heeded, being unfit to eat because of their thinness and the evil odour of their feathers. They breed in the high mountains so that one cannot come by their eggs. One eider-duck skerry lay two sea-miles from us, where they were laying eggs. It lay north-west of our harbour and we went there in a boat, and took a barrelful of eggs, but when they were prepared they all proved unfit for food, for it had come to the time when they were about to hatch. We found no fish in those parts save the sea-scorpion³.

The country is full of high mountains, mostly covered with snow and glaciers from their tops down to the sea. The sun shines both night and day until the month of August. On almost every day, from about nine o'clock in the morning until two o'clock of the afternoon, are heard the thunderous roarings of avalanches, when through the working of the sun, the ice on some mountain loosens and hurtles forward and falls into the sea: such a thick dust of divers colours rises therefrom that the sun cannot clearly be distinguished for an hour together. These glaciers are fresh water frozen on the upper regions of the mountains, and they form the drifting ocean ice, which makes its visitations in Iceland.

A short distance to the south there was a great chasm in the glacier, and this was called Hell⁴: it was very awful and terrifying to view every time that we looked thither, and all

¹ This is a curious mistake of Jón's, as of course the Polar bear's chief food consists of seals. He does, however, eat grass and berries. (Salomonsen's *Konversations-Lexicon*, s.v. Björn.)

² Icel. *brimnár*, a West Firth word, meaning *Anas histrionica*, called *straumönd*, *brimönd*, and *brimdúfa* in other parts of Iceland. [Communicated to S.B. by the late Prof. B. M. Ólsen.]

³ Icel. *marhmútr*, *Cottus scorpius*, Dan. *havulv*.

⁴ Icel. Víti.

that was floating by disappeared therein. The year previous to our stay it chanced that the Englishmen had caught a "smoothback" whale¹ and were towing it with three rowing-boats, but a current was setting inshore, and they drifted nearer and nearer and nearer to this chasm, nor could they help themselves, for their way lay past it, until at last they and their boats and the whale were speedily sucked into it and engulfed, so that they were never seen again. This and much else the English told us as a warning.

Now we must tell how immediately upon our landing, when we had set up our booths, the Biscayans set out whale-fishing with three boats. There were six men in each and of these three in each boat were Danes. They were provided with food for a week, and they slept at night in tents on the promontories which jut out into the sea. In each boat there are four rowers and one man at the helm: the sixth is the harpooner in the bows. He receives the highest wage and they get 100 dollars for every whale they catch. They caught four whales for the two royal ships, and out of them was melted eighty lasts² of oil, of the which each ship took the half. One man, the eleventh Biscayan, was almost left behind: it was his office to strip the whale of blubber, not on the flagship but on the other vessel, which was called the *Jupiter*³. He found the task easy. Their interpreter was called Jón and was English on his mother's side: he said that he knew sixteen languages, with that little that he said he knew of the Icelandic tongue. He had previously sailed hither when he was fourteen years of age with those men who came to Árnafjörð [in Iceland] the year after the winter called the Torture⁴. Four of them had been sent to the late sheriff, Ari Magnússon, whose

¹ Icel. *sljettbak*, Dan. *sletbag* or *rethval*.

² *Last*, a nautical term common to the Dutch, English, German, Polish and Scandinavian languages at this time. A last is equal to two tons. In Danish the word *læst* was also a cubic measure (twelve to twenty-two barrels), and this is the only meaning given in Salomonsen's *Konversations-Lexicon* and in Kalkar's *Dictionary of the older Danish language*. But cp. Krünitz, *Encyclopädie*, Theil 65, pp. 188 ff., and the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. last.

³ It was really the *Gabriel*, see above.

⁴ Cp. note 3 to p. 8 *supra*.

residence was at Ögur in Ísafjörð¹, and I was nine years old when they came one Sunday morning to Svarthamar in Álftafjörð, where my mother and brother Halldór lived, and their leader was called David. When he touched upon this I recalled all that I have just said, and I became dear to him beyond the rest of my company. I remained in his friendship until our parting, and his other comrades followed suit in this, and often entertained me and him with wine, bread and spices, of which they had a plenty with them. Further, we were not the less confirmed in our friendship through a chance happening at the time when we first saw the coast. For, since we had not once held converse with any of the other ships for a fortnight, the admiral desired to meet Gabriel Kruse, the captain on the other royal vessel, to pass the time (seeing that on that day there was a favourable wind), and he summoned the interpreter, the said Jón, and asked whether he and his comrades were not desirous of seeing and talking with their countrymen, to which he agreed, and six of their party at once made ready with one of their sloops to row the admiral and his servants to the other vessel, where the admiral and these others were welcomed and well entertained. And when they had been there a little while and were becoming about half-drunk, it chanced that those who were on deck saw a great "herring-driver" which they call a troll-whale². And on the instant that these whalers heard of it, they became quite wild, for a new rope, 300 fathoms long, lay coiled in the bottom of their boat, and they leapt into the boat and rowed lustily after the whale, and suddenly cast the iron into him, but because they were too near him, and by reason of their own heedlessness, at the moment when they harpooned him he cast his tail up under the boat, so that it was lifted high above the water and all its bottom was shivered to pieces, and the men were flung out of it in all directions into the sea. And because they were all swimmers, none of them were lost, for the crew on the other ship went at once to their rescue, cutting their boat loose from the

¹ Cp. note 3 to p. 6 *supra*. Presumably they had been shipwrecked.

² Icel. *sild-reki*, *tröllhval*.

davits. They were brought to our ship, for they were afraid of meeting the admiral, knowing that they had acted contrary to the King's naval regulations. Moreover, the admiral had in the boat a new cloak worth thirty-two dollars. But luck was with them in that no more was lost of the rope than five fathoms, for it had been severed by the iron projecting over the bows before more could run out.

Jón the interpreter had me called and told me what a great mischance had befallen him, and asked me to make him secretly acquainted with what the admiral said about it, and to put in a good word for him, and say that the admiral might rely on payment from him for what was lost. All this I did when the admiral came, and he was at that time in the greatest rage. I made much out of their repentance of their fault, and that they were sorely oppressed by it. He said the matter should come before the court-martial, but shortly afterwards he ordered that warm wine should be brought to them. I repeated to Jón as gently as I could what the admiral had said. The matter ended thus, that it was never brought up at the court-martial, nor was compensation demanded of them.

CHAPTER XXIII

ONE Sunday morning the admiral was invited out by the Dutchmen whose ship lay, with three English vessels, at the anchorage of the citizens' ships; and after mattins was over a great banquet was made ready. But about two o'clock a huge white bear came running towards the booths, of enormous size and fearsome to look upon. None of all the people had ever seen such a sight before; he was pale in hue and with red chaps. One and all leapt from their seats to chase him with muskets and weapons. He gave them no chance of attacking him, but ran very swiftly to the shore and plunged into the sea, and bit a piece out of the boat, from which he was later killed, for the Biscayans seized it and dashed after him, and harpooned him with a harpoon on a rope, and killed him, and his skin was presented to the admiral. Later in the evening we betook ourselves thence after an excellent meal.

When we first came there, there was a feud between the English and Dutch on account of disputes and differences concerning this Greenland¹, as to which of them had first discovered it, but our admiral put an end to the strife between them by his kindly offices, and declared the land to be under the Danish crown, and so all were reconciled. Greenland lies about 150 (Danish) miles to the north-west of Iceland and our anchorage looked north-east. There is much driftwood there, which we used for various purposes as we needed it. Exploration of the country is difficult by reason of the glaciers and the many kinds of ice along the seashore. Let this be enough about it for the time.

Now I shall allude briefly to the quarrel between our officers, namely the admiral, Henrik Vind and Gabriel Kruse, the captain of the other royal vessel. It all arose from a bagatelle. It happened one Sunday that Gabriel Kruse had

¹ Spitzbergen was actually discovered by the Dutchmen Willem Barents and Jacob Heemskerk in 1596. Of the English, Henry Hudson in 1607 was the first to land on Spitzbergen.

a banquet and thought to invite the admiral and the English captain of the vessel which lay alongside us in the harbour. Hence he had his vessel decorated early in the morning with the customary ship's bunting, and hoisted his flag in the main-top, which it behoves none to do save the admiral, and which is banned under great penalties in the King's regulations¹. For this reason the admiral was wroth and did not accept the invitation, and there was great ill-feeling between them for a while, so that when one went on shore the other left it. It happened one time that the admiral was going ashore and the unworthy narrator of this tale was with him together with several of my comrades. I made bold to address the admiral when he had gone ashore and to speak to him about this affair, and said that it would have an ugly look both to ourselves and to the foreigners if they set off for home unreconciled, and still more when they came to meet the King and other good friends. He grew somewhat testy and asked me if I had the presumption to defend the other's defiance and breach of law, that he had committed against the King's command and ordinance. I denied this and said that I had touched on the matter from a good motive, as I daily heard the English speaking of it. He grew calmer and said that if the English captain would use his good offices he would allow himself to be pacified. I asked if I might seek to secure this. He said yea, and so I went to the English captain. At once he made ready to start and went to speak with the admiral and reconciled them at once and sent his men to fetch Gabriel Kruse, and brought everything to a satisfactory conclusion. For this I came to stand high in the esteem of all.

Now when we had been there eleven weeks we were desirous of departing in God's name, both on account of the frost and of the snow, for sometimes we were obliged to hoist anchors twice a day and sail to and fro according to the direction of the currents and the pressure of the ice. Accordingly the officers of all the ships agreed among themselves by letter when they should leave the anchorage. Every day in the

¹ Art. 47 of the naval regulations of 1582: cp. Secher, *Forordn.* II, pp. 243 ff., repeated in 1611, and again (Art. 59) in 1625.

month of August there was already such a keen frost that directly after two o'clock in the afternoon ice two inches thick had formed round the ship, even though the sun was shining. When we had first come, the sun shone day and night, that is to say, in June and July. The last night we spent there so much snow fell that on the last watch, which fell to me, I was over my knees in snow on the deck. And in the morning the admiral, who had dressed himself early, could hardly discern me from the cabin door, and he had compassion on me and fetched a bottle of Rhenish brandy and gave me as much of it to drink as I wished. And that same day all of us fifteen vessels sailed away out of the mouth of the fjord. In the middle of the bay was a submerged reef against which our ship struck three times so violently that most of those who were standing were thrown to the ground, and every man on board was overcome with terror. At once many of the wisest among us went with lanterns to examine whether the ship had been damaged, and could find nothing, whereat we rejoiced and gave thanks to God. And so without misadventure we sailed our ships in company on our homeward course, until we sighted Norway: we had then sailed 150 (Danish) miles from the north-east, on a course east of Iceland. But before we sighted Norway the vessels were scattered in a terrible storm, and we also parted from our citizens' ships, which had captured five whales, and had received orders to proceed to Holland with the oil.

CHAPTER XXIV

NOW when we and the other royal ship arrived off Lindesnes in Norway¹, the other ships having all parted from us (and we were so near the coast that we could have run into a harbour if it had so pleased us), it happened early one Tuesday morning that there suddenly sprang up a furious hurricane from the south-east, so great that we could barely live in it, and it lasted five nights and days, and all that time we allowed ourselves to drift without sails in the North Sea, and could descry nothing beyond our own deck on account of the turmoil of the sea and the huge billows, which were of immoderate size; and we lost our figure-head which was all gilt and decorated. Once a Dutch ship went past us which had lost its mainmast. And when this peril was at its worst our trials were increased by our pumps going blind, and being so choked that no water passed up, until we had three and a half ells of water in the hold, and we had to resort to buckets, which yet proved in vain, for no one could stand on his feet or be master of his movements. Then the admiral came out to his cabin door weeping like a child, and called me before him, and bade me in God's name give some good counsel whereby to save our lives. I said I knew no other than to take up the pump, which seemed to him impossible in such a storm. But with his approval I went down below to find Jón the interpreter, and I repeated the admiral's words to him, that he begged for his and his countrymen's aid and for advice about getting at the pump, and help in anything which might avail to save our lives, and to this I added my own words, and clapped him on the shoulder. Whereat he and his people, together with the ship's crew, at once made themselves ready, and the pump was extracted and was lashed fast with cross-lashings. It proved to be full of small pebbles when it was drawn up. A piece of perforated lead was nailed on its

¹ Lindesnes, southernmost point of the Norwegian mainland.

under side, and so all was put in order again. The admiral promised me a suit of new clothes, the which however I never received, nor any other reward from him save friendly speech when he came across me.

On the Sunday morning we sighted Shetland¹. We had drifted eighty knots² out of our course, and we did not know how the other ship's crew fared, nor whether they were living or dead. But matters had gone so far with them that each of them had taken leave of this world, and commended himself entirely to God, and made great vows, and offered money for the poor, which money was placed in the purse in which coins for the poor are usually deposited, for it is the custom on every royal ship that each who has the will and is charitably inclined gives every Sunday as much as pleases him. The same thing was done on board our ship. On Sunday the wind veered to the north-west and moderated to a fair wind straight behind us, but it was very perilous running free against such a sea, until it became smoother. It was four days before we made Norway, at the place called Flekkefjord, and more than half of our people lay sick and plagued with scurvy and every kind of ailment. Of the artillerymen only four were about, the artillery-master Niels Damsgaard, Johan Jern, Jacob Nielsen and myself, and even we were in no robust state, for we could hardly stir for scurvy boils, and I, like most others, had several teeth loose from scurvy, for which I used fine salt and tobacco ash³, and many imitated me; first I chafed all my gums with fine salt so that the blood ran freely, and then with tobacco ash, which is painful to endure.

In the said harbour we lay four or five days. And when we first arrived, the barber and I decided that we would hobble off the next morning and make a long journey until we chanced upon some settlement, whereby we also hoped to find healing, if that might be, when our limbs were wearied,

¹ Icel. Hjaltland.

² *Vikur sjávar*, Dan. *Uge søs*, an old Scandinavian measure of distance at sea, corresponding to a geographical mile.

³ For use of tobacco, see note 3 to p. 17 *supra*.

and if we could fall into a sweat¹; and this proved to be the case. About midday we issued from a valley which lay under a low hillside, and was thick with fair grass and flowers, and came upon a farmhouse, where the fire for the midday meal was burning in the kitchen. A girl caught sight of us first and was mightily frightened, so that she stumbled and fell as she ran away, and she told the farmer what was toward. He came at once to us with a spear in his hand, being ignorant who we were. But when he learnt that, he received us in the kindest fashion with ale and food, milk and fresh fish: we gave bread in return and two kerchiefs. He asked us many things and we him, so that our conversation lasted until the evening, and we parted from him in all friendship after he had led us on our way. We travelled during the night and came to our ship early in the morning, and men thought that we had died.

After five days, we weighed anchor and steered for home with a fair wind. And one day, while the fair wind lasted, it happened that one of the Biscayans, who was always quarrelsome and overbearing with our people (which was mainly caused by the hatred he and other papists entertained for persons of the Lutheran faith), put out his foot unawares and tripped me up heavily. And when I had leapt speedily up, I seized him in wrath and placed him in a large vessel of water, and I also gave him two boxes on the ears in full view of all bystanders; and so I left him. Immediately he ran off to the admiral and complained of me. I was at once called thither and straitly questioned whether it were true, which I did not deny. The admiral said that he believed me to be acquainted with the regulation that no man should lay a hand on others who had committed no fault, and this I did not deny. He became greatly incensed thereat and ordered me to be placed in confinement immediately². I pleaded my cause before him in all its aspects in the presence of all the crew, who

¹ A sweat was considered very good in cases of plague, cp. Mansa, *Bidrag*, p. 276.

² The penalty for striking a shipmate with hand or fist was to be thrice keel-hauled. (Regulations of 1582, § 28; Secher, *Forordn.* II, p. 249.)

bore witness that I was telling the truth. The other's complaint thus turned to shame and disgrace. He was not punished, but was admonished, while thanks and consideration fell to my lot. Afterwards we made friends again.

At last, with good fortune and the blessing of God, we returned to Copenhagen. We had been away seventeen weeks and lost fifteen men. The other vessel had then been back for some time. The following autumn I went to Kronborg¹ with several others, to take service in the Castle, as has been told before.

¹ This autumn (1619) Jón was in Copenhagen, as appears from the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXV

AND when I came there, in autumn time, I was ordered to stand guard in the King's navy the following winter, and there a trial came upon me from a certain circumstance, as follows. When the four worthy Icelanders travelled out to Denmark, namely Jón Magnússon, Henrik Gíslason, Thorsteinn Magnússon and Daði Jónsson¹, it so chanced that I was asked and requested of them in a kindly manner, to obtain of my captain Adolph Frederik Grabow, that he should let them know (but yet privily) when His Majesty was alone at the Castle in Copenhagen, in order that they might speak secretly with him at his good leisure about the need of this country, but so that the ship-owners should not hear of it, and they promised to remember him favourably in return. At first he received my overtures with a bad grace, saying that I was involving him in difficulties and that his life would be at stake if they (the ship-owners) got wind of it, and he said that he

¹ Jón here gives an interesting glimpse of a mission which had set forth from Iceland accompanied by the liveliest hopes of the inhabitants, but which returned having accomplished nothing. Owing to the constant complaints of the Icelanders about the bad wares and extortionate prices of the Danish monopolists in Iceland, the King had written in April 1619 that four representative Icelanders should be sent to Copenhagen at the expense of the Danish merchants to discuss matters. There was one Sheriff from each "quarter" of the island: Jón Magnússon of Reykhólar from the West (son of Magnús the Magnificent, see note 3 to p. 6 *supra*); Henrik Gíslason from the South, Thorsteinn Magnússon from the East, the greatest legal authority of his time in Iceland, and Daði Árnason (not Jónsson as Jón says) from the North. The last-named died in Copenhagen during the mission. By the "ship-owners" Jón means the Danish monopolists, who had every reason to desire that the Icelanders should not have a private audience of the King. In 1702 the law-man Gottrup published a story that the failure of the mission was due to the fact that the Danish High Sheriff of Iceland (Amtmand) was secretly in league with the monopolists, and that the day before the Icelanders were to see the King he entertained them to such good purpose that they were unable to state their case clearly next morning. (Aðils, *op. cit.* p. 376, note 2.) In any case the new scale of prices, fixed on Dec. 16, 1619, was ruinous to the Icelanders, and the Danish merchants only paid a quarter of the costs of the mission: the rest had to be collected by a levy on Icelandic farmers. Cp. Aðils, *loc. cit.* pp. 374, 377.

would hold me responsible if the thing turned out otherwise than well.

At last he promised what I wished, though he was aware that it did not become him to unite with foreigners against his own countrymen. He refused to do more than exactly what I have mentioned, and bade them all be ready in the same lodging for a message from him. But because it was inconvenient for them to continue for some while in their first lodging (which was in the old Steward's House by the quay¹), on account of the expense of food and ale (for every meal cost half a rixdollar), they sought about to find another lodging, in which they were successful. But when a message came to them from Grabow to the first lodging, they had moved away to the other, of which his servant knew nothing, and so he returned, without having performed his errand, to his master, who was very angry, and took a dislike to me, and thought to pay me out when I was discovered in some fault, for he reckoned himself fooled by me.

Now it happened one Sunday that I accompanied a bridegroom to church and back again, and was at the feast in the company of other worthy folks, but only for a short time, for I had to stand guard in another's place that evening in the royal fleet, wherefore I durst not tarry long. Accordingly, I went straight to my lodging in the house of a worthy widow, by name Birgitte, and because a strong north-east wind was blowing at the time, so that the striking of the clock could not be heard, I betook myself rather before it was necessary to the Bremerholm Gate², where the guard for the war-ships always assembled. And when the clock struck four times the lieutenant of the watch used to start through the gate with the watch on to Bremerholm, and out on the ice, where he gave them the watchword and left them. Now it happened that I had

¹ Probably the house allotted in 1594 to Henrik Rammel, Lord Steward to the young King; the present No. 8 in Amagertorv. See *Hist. Tidskr.* vi R., 1 Bd. p. 572; O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* iv, p. 424; H. Trier, *Gaarden No. 8 Amagertorv*, pp. 3 ff. [R.C.]

² This must refer to the Holmens Port, with a guard-room above, built in 1618, just east of Holmens Kirke. (See view of Copenhagen, and map.) It had a drawbridge (rebuilt in 1610-13) over the moat, and in 1619 a porter lodged close by. (R.C., and Lind, pp. 332 f.)

sought out these worthy men [the Icelanders], before I repaired to the gate where the watch met, and they promised to come thither before the watch was mustered (for the admiral at Bremerholm had given them permission to go thither)¹, and they sent a lad with me called Hákon Thorsteinsson, who was with his father Thorsteinn Magnússon, administrator at that time of the monastery lands of Thykkvibær². His father asked me to let the lad accompany me and wait for them, which I did, but for some cause they were hindered from coming on that occasion. Now when the lad and I arrived at the said gate, none of the watch were yet come. Peter Roed told me that I was come too early. He was the chief of the three men who were daily on guard there, and who were placed there to see that nothing was unlawfully removed from Bremerholm by that gate³. I said I had not heard whether the clock had struck. Shortly afterwards, two of the watch, Johan Jern and Jakob Nykøbing, came up, and because the wind was strong and keen, they persuaded me to enter the house of a skipper hard by, not more than a bowshot from the gate, and we were to stay there and shelter from the wind until the time came. Hákon vehemently urged this upon me, and mainly at his wish I allowed myself to be taken thither. There they asked the skipper's wife to heat a quart of ale to warm us. But while this was doing the watch had proceeded on its way, for we could not hear the drum on account of the storm, although I had set the two men to listen for it in turns. And when I heard this, I hastened away with them, and the reason that they were somewhat more speedy than I was because the lad held me and would not part with me, for at that time he was but young and knew no one. And when we came to the gate

¹ No one could enter Bremerholm without leave, except nobles. (Lind, p. 333.)

² All monastery lands in Iceland had been seized by the Danish King at the time of the Reformation. At this time Thorsteinn Magnússon administered the rich lands once belonging to the Thykkvibær monastery in South Iceland, a post which his son Hákon, mentioned above, inherited.

³ Peter Roed is mentioned in 1623 as guard to the Provision Store. He lived in Vingaardsstræde, and added to his income by drawing ale. (*Kjøbenhavn's Dipl.* v, p. 62.)

our Provost was standing there with our muskets in his hand, and without any objection he gave those two their muskets, so that they ran off without further delay, and caught up the watch before the Master had left it. But I was in peril from the Provost who wished to show me no mercy but have me up to the Arsenal to be confined there in fetters, for some time previously Grabow had strictly enjoined him to do so and had secretly intimated that if at any time I should commit some error, be it small or great, he should seize me and conduct himself in the manner just mentioned; and for this hatred of me there was no cause save that I have mentioned.

A few days before this occurrence I had met Adolph Grabow in the street and he would not acknowledge my salute, the which had never before occurred, and he said that he would keep me busy with something else than consorting with Icelanders and joining with them to make game of others. His servant Baltzer Lynbeck, who was following him, whispered to me to beware of him. Until then I had never been in his bad books, for he had not held me the least of those who stood with me in the King's service, especially among the younger men, and he had often sent me on his private errands, both to the Governor of the Castle and to his lady, and to many other places besides.

Now as the Provost stood firm in his intention not to give up my musket and was not to be moved by any of my humble entreaties nor by bribes, Peter Roed said to him: "Why do you treat this man so ill and why so openly cause him misfortune and death?" The Provost flew into a rage at his words and bade him be silent. Then he took my musket and drove it so hard against my breast that I fell against the wall and scratched my cheek. When I saw the blood, my gorge rose, and I seized my sword, but yet with moderation, so that no more than a handbreadth of the steel was drawn. He thought I had drawn it against him, which is a hanging offence, for the Provost bears the King's bâton¹, and any who

¹ It was the Provost's duty to keep order and discipline, to arrest offenders without special orders and *ex officio* to act as Prosecutor in the military court. He carried a staff or bâton about 3 ft. long called

lays hands on him pays as high a penalty as if he had done it to the King himself. Yet it was not my intention to draw my sword against him, but rather I told him that if he did not bear the King's bâton at his side, and if we were not in the place where we were, he could not have struck me without getting something in return. (This observation served me well afterwards when I stood up in the stern Court of the Arsenal and faced the rigours of the Law.)

Then the Provost Søren said: "Now thou must come with me to the Arsenal," and he gave me the King's bâton to hold, as is customary, and none may refuse it on pain of death, and I bowed on receiving it, which also served me well later on. But Hákon was dragged away from me, and I urgently begged Peter Roed to take him to his father, which he did like an honest fellow.

And so I accompanied the Provost to the Arsenal, where the watch had mustered, and one of the officers of the Arsenal was also there, by name Peter Falk¹, a good friend of mine. When he and the guards saw me they were amazed and pitied me from their hearts, for the Provost made so much of my misdeed, saying first that I was come drunk to muster, and then that I had neglected to appear in due time on sentry-duty, and thirdly that I had drawn my sword against him. Whereupon I declared his accusations against me to be false in all three points: firstly that I was drunk, which all could see was not true, and in addition I declared that he had used violence against me which had hindered me from performing my sentry-duty, and I referred my cause to the decision of the admiral and of the Court-martial of

"Regiment." In 1598 it was of silver gilt, and weighed seventy-five ounces. E. Madsen, *Danmarks Hærvæsen*, p. 434. In later times the Provost's status fell, his duties were of a lower order, and he was called "General-Gevaldiger." [R.C.] In 1578 we find a certain Jørgen von der Schweinitz mentioned as "Commandant and Provost" of Kronborg Castle, which suggests that already by Jón's time the office had already fallen in prestige. (Blom, p. 434, note 1.)

¹ There were two Under-Masters of the Arsenal from 1618 onwards, and one of these was Peter Falk, whose signature is regularly found in accounts from 1618 onwards, beside that of Christoffer Schwenke the Elder. He held this office up to 1651, although in one official document of 1649 he is called Chief Master of the Arsenal. Cp. Blom, p. 23.

Bremerholm: and thirdly that I did but show him that I carried a sword, but that I had not drawn it against him. Thereupon he laid hands upon me in the Arsenal yard and ordered me to accompany him to the Brockenhus¹, where all prisoners were at first confined and placed in irons. I tore myself out of his hands and said I would not comply by reason of his rough treatment, but of my own free will if it should please me to do so. He ordered the whole watch to seize me, but I forbade them to lay a hand on me. Peter Falk came up to me kindly and took me in his arms and asked me to be peaceable for his sake and allow myself to be arrested, and in return he promised me his good offices, which promise he well performed.

And so I sat in the Brockenhus from Sunday evening until nearly midday on Tuesday, in contravention of His Majesty's regulations, for the Provost ought to visit every prisoner twice a day². And when he came he was accompanied by my very dear friend Sir Thorlák Thorkelsson, the son of Thorkell Gamlason, steward of the Hólar diocese³, and also by my landlady. They brought me wine and many kinds of food, for the which however I had but scant appetite. Both wept sorely over me and my sufferings, but I bade them desist for that I trusted in God and comforted myself with the recollection of my good cause, whatever turn matters might now take. I bitterly reproached the Provost with remissness in his calling and office which he had shown in such ugly fashion, in his neglect of me, a prisoner of the King, whom however he had wrongfully confined. He said that he would prove a difficult customer for me to deal with, to which I made reply that I left our affair in God's hands. Both my friends went away weeping in the company of the Provost.

Near four o'clock I was called into the office where the

¹ The position of the Brockenhus is a mystery. The Danish editors regarded it as a generic name for a prison, but in the Icelandic edition it is pointed out that this is not consistent with Jón's statement that he was confined in three places, the Brockenhus, the Arsenal and the Blue Tower (p. 190).

² The duties of the Provost in this respect are nowhere stated.

³ See note 3 to p. 37 *supra*.

officers were assembled, and there my cause was to be examined and considered in the first instance. And when I was called in, the five officers of the Arsenal were seated there, namely Adolph Frederik Grabow, the Master of the Arsenal, Christoffer Schwenke¹, Peter Falk, Henrik Butzmand² and Hans Budtz³, and twelve chief artillerymen. The Provost and I remained standing. Grabow asked him whether he still held to his aforesaid charge against me—and he declared it to be true—and whether he had true witnesses thereto, the which he also affirmed. I asked if I might hear the charges and he repeated them briefly, and I denied them. But Grabow doffed his hat and said he would not give so much for my life if things proved to be as the Provost declared. I said that my life was worth a considerable deal more. None uttered a word save these two, but many shed tears for me. Grabow ordered the Provost to take some of the watch with him and conduct me up to the Castle, and place me in the prison where such of the King's prisoners as were accused of capital offences were usually confined. I bade them do their worst but said that they could not go further than God would permit.

Thereupon I went out weeping with the Provost and four of the watch, and went up to Copenhagen Castle. The turnkey was called Niels and was a close acquaintance of mine, and with great reluctance and shedding many tears, he let me down into the Blue Tower on a thin hempen rope. At the bottom there was a deal flooring, and as it were a large platform, but all round it very deep gutters, which ran down into the drain which surrounds the Castle, and into which all culverts from the Castle empty themselves. But this Blue

¹ Christoffer Schwenke (or Svenke) the Elder, a German, rose from artilleryman to be a Master of the Arsenal, a post he held from Jan. 19, 1618 to about 1644. He is mentioned as wounded, having distinguished himself for gallantry, in the battle of Lutter am Barenberg, Aug. 17, 1626, where Christian IV was defeated by the forces of the Emperor. Cp. Blom, p. 23, and *Hist. Tidskr.* VII R., 3 Bd. p. 339. [R.C.]

² Henrik Butzmand was, like Peter Falk, Under-Master of the Arsenal.

³ Hans Budtz or Bodtz, Master of the Arsenal at Kronborg from 1606 to 1611, is stated by Blom to have fallen in the Kalmar War (1611-13) which clearly cannot have been the case. He too rose from the ranks. (Blom, p. 24.)

Tower is shaped within like an egg, so that it is impossible for any man to escape out of it by natural means or by human strength¹. Yet three men have made their way out of it, but only by help of the devil². Therein I sat for a full month entirely without irons or fetters. And though the King came twice to the Castle in the month of March, it was withheld from him that I was confined in the Blue Tower, solely in order that I might be condemned to death without his knowledge, on account of Grabow's grudge against me. The first night after I was confined there I dreamt a dream as follows. I thought that this Adolph Frederik Grabow was seated on a dais with a drawn sword, and that he was raising it to cut off my head, and I seemed to myself to be standing at the further edge of the dais with bare head and humble heart, and yet with a clear conscience and hopes of God's grace, goodwill, tenderness and mercy with regard to my welfare and salvation for Jesus Christ's sake. And as I thought he was about to strike a final blow, I saw the likeness of a very young minister clad in a silken chasuble of spotless white, and holding a fair and gleaming sword in his right hand, and he brandished it in haste as if to strike, but his left hand seized Grabow's arm (the one in which he held the sword) and bade him forbear to strike unless he wished to taste the sharpness of his (the minister's) sword. It was long before Grabow was willing to desist, so it seemed to me, but yet at last I thought that he put back the sword into its sheath. Afterwards at his bidding I thought that I stood up joyfully, and in that joy I suddenly awoke. And because of this dream

¹ The spire of the Blue Tower of the Castle can be clearly seen in the view of Copenhagen. The spire dated from 1596 and the tower owes its name to the copper roofing, tarnished to the blue-green colour familiar to all visitors to Copenhagen in the roof of the Royal Exchange and others of Christian IV's buildings. The lowest part was no doubt of great antiquity, and it is known that criminals were, as Jón says, let down into it by ropes. (Cp. Friis, *Samling til dansk Bygningshist.* pp. 176, 201, and Bruun, *Kjøbenhavn*, 1, p. 489.) One of these dungeons was called the Troll's Cave. Perhaps by "egg-shaped" Jón means "vaulted."

² The only case of escape from the Blue Tower which I have come across is from 1639, when a Dunkirk captain succeeded in escaping from it, it is not stated how. (Fragment of a chronicle of Copenhagen quoted by Liisberg, *København*, pp. 222 f.)

I continued to be of good cheer and courage all the time that I was confined in the Blue Tower.

Every day during the month, the three worshipful gentlemen whom I have mentioned before, Jón Magnússon, Henrik Gíslason and Thorsteinn Magnússon came up daily to the Castle to visit and comfort me and gave me their continual sympathy. But because they found me each time in good spirits, rather than cast down (whereat they greatly wondered), the sore grief they felt for me moderated and diminished considerably, and every day they took turns to let down money to me thrust between the strands of the rope attached to the basin which was daily lowered to me with the cans and dishes of food and ale brought me daily by my landlady and other persons in the town, my well-wishers and friends, for by the special grace of God I had many acquaintances among worthy folk both in the town and outside. I was also given candles and other necessary matters: and moreover, every second day I was sent one salt fish, a loaf of bread, a can of beer and a large candle by the Governor of the Castle, Cai Rantzau¹, being the proper ration for prisoners according to ancient law and custom. Night and day it was never dark in my prison. Every night I had five candles burning at once, and one by day, and I was never alone at night save once. Many were confined there for trifling offences, both of those who belonged to Sjælland and those who had come either from Jutland or Norway or other smaller neighbouring countries and districts. One man, Jürgen by name, come from Jutland, who had served gentlefolk for a long time and had fallen into displeasure with his lord, remained a whole week in the Blue Tower, and entertained me excellently with many stories of remarkable happenings in Jutland amongst noble and humble men and women. This man went to Bremerholm into the very large and much frequented prison of which I have spoken before, and was sentenced, according to the nature of his

¹ Cai Rantzau of Rantzausholm, b. 1591, d. 1623, was Governor of Copenhagen and consequently Governor of Copenhagen Castle, from 1615 to 1620. The Rantzau family was originally of the Holstein nobility. (*Biograf. Lex.*)

offence, to three years confinement, so long as he did not increase his guilt with new crimes, but else they were to be considered anew and the sentence lengthened according to their magnitude. The turnkey was extremely friendly and indulgent to me, and bade me despatch him on errands whenever I willed and promised to perform all that I wished to have done or to arrange.

CHAPTER XXVI

AND now to tell what these worthy men set themselves to do, when they heard what penalty I might have to undergo. They went one day to the Provost of the city and chief men of the town and persuaded them to go up to the Arsenal and make an earnest plea on my behalf to the officers of the Arsenal, and if they were unable to secure my release between them, they declared that they would forthwith seek to obtain my liberation and deliverance from His Majesty himself. But when Grabow heard that and saw persons of authority intervening in the affair, he began to sing to another tune, and said that the penalty would not be so extreme, and that it was done as a warning to others and in order to quell my presumption, and with his fair words and kindly talk altered their plans, so that the matter should not come before the King. Thereupon they joyfully returned to their homes, trusting in his fair promises.

At the close of the month these three worthy gentlemen came one evening to the Castle to visit me according to their custom, and to inform me that they had heard that the next morning a Court was to be held in the Arsenal to deal with my case. They prayed God with tears to grant me victory and blessing, and to bring my case to a good issue, and said that they would visit me in the morning, if by God's grace they might do so; and so they parted from me. Now it chanced that a certain farmer, by name Laurids, of the neighbouring district, which was under the jurisdiction of the Castle, had been cast into the Blue Tower for a slight offence, namely that he had been ordered to bring a load of firewood for the use of the Castle on a certain Tuesday, but had neglected to do so, and coming on the Wednesday following, he was cast into prison¹. And since this man had already told me his

¹ Although Christian IV did much to help agriculture, he was undoubtedly harsh in his demands on his own farmers (who were bound to the soil, and were liable to *corvée*) and the treatment of Laurids is by no

dreams, I asked him that morning what he thought of my fortune that day, whether he thought my sentence would be release or death, or whether I should be sent back to the Blue Tower. The man answered and said that I should certainly return to the Blue Tower, but that I should not be put to death since God purposed to grant me a longer life, for he had dreamed in the night that he thought he saw me standing on the threshold of a house in the town as he was passing along the street, and that I called to him and invited him to come to my house and receive entertainment; and this actually happened.

Early in the morning, at six o'clock, these three gentlemen came up into the Tower and four merchants with them, namely Hans Holst and Boye Lauridsen, merchants from these harbours in Iceland¹, also the merchant of Akureyri, Hans Therkelssen and the merchant from Hofsós, Jost Lossekull, an aged, pious and God-fearing man; and also my landlady Birgitte Lauridsdatter. This last brought me clean linen, and also food and a bottle of wine, which I left mostly untouched. These worthy persons grieved sorely over me, but I bade them not be sorrowful, for that I trusted in God, whether He let life or death fall to my lot, and besides I knew that my case was not very bad in the eyes of men. But in the eyes of God I knew myself guilty of many sins, and yet I trusted wholly in His tender grace in the mighty name of my faithful Saviour Jesus, for which cause I gave myself fearlessly into His hands, whatsoever might befall; and I

means unique. Refractory farmers on his estates were often summarily imprisoned in the Blue Tower, or sent to Bremerholm, without any legal formalities. Cp. *Danmarks Riges Hist.* iv, p. 112.

¹ "These harbours," i.e. the West Firths. It is known that Hans Holst had the trade of Dýrafjörð and Ísafjörð: cp. Aðils, *op. cit.* p. 91. He was Town Clerk from 1588 to 1590, and died in 1623. We hear of him as engaged in various activities, now quarrying stone and exporting it to Germany (1603, *Kbn. Dipl.* II, p. 518), now joining in a rope-making company, 1620 (*loc. cit.* p. 628). He lived in Højbrostræde and was, for his times, enormously rich (*loc. cit.* II, p. 516). Jost Loeskül is mentioned as an "Icelandic shareholder," and also as interested in a rope-making scheme (*loc. cit.* II, pp. 628, 644-5). Hans Thorkilssen or Therkelssen must have been a younger man: we find him as one of the thirty-two men on the Town Council from 1648-61. (*Kbn. Dipl.* I, pp. 663, 743 and *passim*.)

bade them be my witnesses to this to my family here in Iceland.

Shortly afterwards the Provost came to fetch me with four armed men from the guard at the Arsenal Gate, who keep watch there day and night. These three gentlefolks and the four merchants accompanied me to the Arsenal, for by prayers they had obtained leave to be present at the proceedings, that they might hear and see. And when we came to the gate my comrades received me joyfully, and yet many of them grieved for me with tears, and they conducted me to the guard-room which was their usual resort and just within the gate, in the yard. Within it burnt a coal fire in an iron pan, very spacious and old and arranged for that purpose, and I warmed myself at the blaze until the Provost fetched me and led me before the Court.

Within the barriers sat the five officers who ruled over the King's Arsenal and over all the artillerymen who served under the strict regulations of His Majesty, that is to say, about 350 persons, as before mentioned. Of these five, Grabow was a nobleman, and next came Christoffer Schwenke, the Master of the Arsenal, and then certain officials of lesser rank, Peter Falk, Henrik Hansen¹ and Hans Budtz. The actual Clerk of the Arsenal was called Gottfred, a young, agreeable and excellent fellow, who loved me much. He would not come up to the Arsenal that day, but declared that he had fallen sick in the night. Grabow understood this and said the sickness was invented and promised to remember it, and the difference arising out of this was never quite healed between them, until at last Gottfred took his leave of the service in all friendliness². Now it so happened that one of the gunners, by name Hans Madsen Lund, was put in his place as clerk on this day. That man was also a good friend of mine, and had been my

¹ Henrik Hansen, artilleryman, of Kattesund in the west quarter of the town, other occupation distilling brandy, is mentioned in 1620 as one of those who for various reasons decline to take their turn in the town watch. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* iv, p. 769.)

² Gottfred Mikkelsen was appointed Clerk to the Arsenal on Feb. 4, 1618, and was re-appointed at a higher wage in March, 1620. He remained in this position till about 1626 and in 1629 became Clerk at Bremerholm. (Lind, p. 349.)

comrade for those two years that I was at Kronborg. He had previously been a muster-clerk and had also served gentlefolk. This man was ordered by Grabow to write everything that had taken place between the Provost and myself, from beginning to end. The three gentlemen and the four merchants were assigned a place to stand in outside the barriers¹ and the gathering of the other persons.

And when I stepped within the barriers all the people who stood around prayed in a loud voice that God might strengthen me and grant me a good issue out of my troubles. Then the clerk was ordered to read out what he had written down at the dictation of the Provost. And as he was so reading I perceived that much untruth was being told, and I forbade him to write anything untrue about me. He excused himself very much and bade me not take it ill though he were obliged to write what was told him. Grabow told me not to heed that, for he said he knew that the Provost would bring good proof for his charge and accusation against me; and thereupon he ordered him to bring forward his witnesses and so support his accusation. This was done, and two men of the four who stood sentry daily at the Bremerholm Gate, and who were mentioned before, were called into Court. These were their leader, Peter Roed², a good man, and another by name Christoffer the Tailor³. These had been present at the passage between the Provost and myself. They were made to take the oath, to the effect that they should bear witness that day to that alone which they knew to be true and which they would acknowledge before God and men, and at the end they swore on the Book. Thereupon Peter Roed and the other related with strict veracity all that had happened at the gate from beginning to end, so that their evidence was contrary to the charge of the Provost.

Then arose a great clamour in the Arsenal, for all the

¹ The court was marked out by four benches or rods. (Matzen, *Retshistorie*, Off. Ret. II, p. 16.)

² See p. 169 *supra*.

³ We find the widow of a Christoffer the Tailor, master-gunner, living in Copenhagen at some date before 1689. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* III, p. 702.)

people began to praise God for the better complexion my affair bore from the strange accusation and hateful charges of the Provost. My three worthy countrymen and the four merchants rejoiced also thereat from their hearts. Thereupon Grabow ordered all the public to be silent: it was a long time before there was a complete hush. It took him unawares that the charge of the Provost would fail, but since matters turned out so, he thinks out a plan whereby he can still ruin me. And when the Court was silent he demanded a verdict of twelve men¹, six from the master-gunners², who are also called chief gunners, and six private soldiers or mercenaries³. These six men served in Copenhagen Castle and held watch both night and day at the Castle gate and in the Castle yard. The twelve were first called to the enquiry into the affair, and then placed on the judgment seat to find a true verdict according to the tenor of the regulations, however the case might go⁴.

Then Master Grabow rose from his seat and said that he asked a verdict on such men as came drunken to their watch and thereby neglected it. Whereat I made reply that it was proved by trustworthy evidence that I had not been in such a condition, and in the hearing of all present I declared myself kept from the watch by force and violence, through the spite of the Provost himself and of those others who had egged him on and confirmed him in it; who they were God knew best. This my tearful speech was displeasing to Grabow and he

¹ So far Grabow is acting strictly according to Castle law (*Gaardsret* or *Hofret*), the laws for the retainers of the King and of nobles, according to which the marshal or other person in command judges cases in which there is no doubt, but if the accused denies the accusation, or if there is any doubt, twelve, six or eight men must be appointed as doomsmen. Half of them, however, should have been appointed by Jón, as the accused. Perhaps he has merely forgotten his part: he may have selected the six faithful privates. (Cp. §§ 2, 3 in Frederik II's *Gaardsret*; Secher, *Forordn.* 1, pp. 184 ff.)

² *Constabel*, Dan. *konstabel*, a senior gunner who has men under him (such as Niels Damsgaard).

³ *Arsknekt*, Dan. *aarsknægt*, orig. a soldier hired by the year, and *landsknekt*, Dan. *landsknægt*, used in the sense of mercenary.

⁴ The twelve men were called *nævninger* in Danish, and it seems that in the Castle courts they were really judges, not mere jurymen. Cp. § 22 of the *Gaardsret*, and Matzen, *loc. cit.* p. 88.

bade me hold my tongue. The Arsenal-Master, Christoffer Schwenke, uttered no word, but leaned his cheek on his hand and sighed deeply.

Then the twelve men aforesaid went outside the barrier to consider and debate about the verdict in such a case as Grabow demanded sentence in, and after they had reflected thus according to the tenor of the regulations, they returned within the barriers, and one, the leader of them, Anders Holst¹, the thirteenth of the twelve doomsmen², announced what decision they had agreed upon according to the directions of the regulations and the declaration of the Master Grabow, and it was a verdict for which he sorely longed, to wit, that they adjudged him deserving of execution³.

All men cried out in a breath that it was a harsh decision. Grabow pretended that he was horror-stricken at it, but this he did more out of slyness than in sincerity. All this while there was a great clamour in the Arsenal. One of my best friends, by name Johan Christiansen, put in his word when Grabow cunningly enquired how the charge against me ran, and the answer was that I had come drunk to the muster and had failed to join the watch. Johan added: "And he did not come in time to accompany the drum through the gate." I looked at him and said: "Now nought was lacking but thy words." Immediately he went away and wished that he had not spoken, and often deplored it afterwards, and said that he had spoken heedlessly.

Now as the hubbub became less, I made my answer to him who had announced the verdict, that they would have to

¹ We find the widow of an Anders Holst mentioned as living in Copenhagen in 1668. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* II, p. 808.)

² This is a strange statement. We hear of thirteen *nævninger* in the early Sjælland law; cp. Matzen, *loc. cit.* pp. 72 f., and in Langeland; cp. V. Lütken, *Bidrag til Langelands Historie*, Rudkjøbing, 1909, p. 171.

³ Only the naval regulations prescribe death as the penalty for appearing drunk on watch, but possibly these applied to the case, since the watch was in the naval dockyard. Cp. p. 103 *supra*, note 2, and p. 189 *infra*. Death is invariably the penalty for resisting the Provost. (Regulations of 1596, § 24 and later; Secher, III, p. 29.) Jón's silence about this charge (cp. p. 171 *supra*) suggests that the doomsmen rejected it as false but admitted the charge of drunkenness and possibly of late arrival on watch. Cp. p. 194 *infra*.

answer for it to God. Grabow said that that was no concern of mine. Then the worthy gentleman Jón Magnússon (of blessed memory) spoke, and said that he thought this verdict most unduly harsh, since true charges had not been proved against me, and he said that he had studied the Curial and Imperial Law¹ and also Danish and Icelandic ordinances, and that his opinion was that I had full rights against those who had accused me wrongfully, and that I had been convicted on a false charge as had been shown by the sworn witnesses. Then Grabow stood up in a great taking and rage with Jón Magnússon, and said that he had permitted him and his companions to come to the Arsenal Court only that they might confirm the law and to pay heed to the royal ordinances, mandates and enactments, but not to contradict or to show defiance. At this Jón and his companions were overawed, as was to be expected in a place so solemn and so strange to them, and they said that they would say nothing but what was proper and legally fitting, and what it well became them to say. Then Grabow ordered the Provost Søren Nibe to take four armed men from the watch and conduct me to the Castle again and confine me in the Blue Tower, for my case was referred to the King's grace², since they³ said they could not pronounce a final sentence of death on me, and that they were not agreed about the verdict which Anders had declared and pronounced within the barriers, unaccompanied by them, to the officers and all those present. Many in the Arsenal were weeping, among them my worthy and beloved countrymen and their companions. The Master of the Arsenal, Christoffer Schwenke, spoke not a word, but shed tears when I was led away.

¹ This statement seems better to suit Thorsteinn Magnússon, who was Iceland's most famous lawyer of the time, than Jón Magnússon.

² It is specially laid down in the German Regulations for the King's Artillerymen in Copenhagen (1600) that serious cases, involving life and limb, shall be submitted to the King and to the Lord High Steward (*Rigshofmester*), or in their absence to the "Amtmand," presumably the Statholder of Copenhagen. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, p. 91, § 4.) (For the Statholder as substitute for the Lord High Steward, cp. O. Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.* III, p. 246.) There was no Lord High Steward from 1601-43, and no Statholder of Copenhagen from Jan. 10, 1618-27, so the case would naturally be referred to the King.

³ "They" presumably refers to the doomsmen.

I departed with a clear conscience and took a general leave of all, with tears. And when I came to the Castle, Niels the turnkey wept over me, and bade me not take it ill that he shut me up in the Tower again. I bade him not trouble himself about that, and I thanked him for his Christian and brotherly compassion. Then I found Farmer Laurids still in the Tower, not having been released that day, and he said that his dream was come true in part, which I admitted, but said that things looked blacker and more serious now. But he was of the contrary opinion, and said that without doubt it would prove true that I should be released and allowed to live, and that I should live through many more experiences, because God had intended and ordained a longer life for me.

CHAPTER XXVII

THREE days after the aforesaid events it happened that Grabow summoned the aforesaid twelve doomsmen to sign and seal their sentence, and nursed good hopes that the sentence of death would be fully sealed and committed to writing. But the six privates who served in the Castle sturdily opposed this, denying that they had sentenced me to death, whereat a coolness and dissension arose between the two parties, for they entirely refused either to pronounce that verdict, or to agree to it or to sign it, namely that I had forfeited my life; and by this they stood firm. Grabow declared that he would appoint six other men from the Arsenal in their place, in order to spite them, and that these should pronounce my life forfeited, if they would not. They said that that lay in his own hands, and quitted the office in high dudgeon. But when Grabow observed and noted their stubbornness, and saw that they were not to be come over, he sent a message to them, and when they returned they came to an agreement that the whole affair should be laid before the King, and that whatever he decided should stand. And thus all the Provost's spiteful conduct and behaviour was of necessity included in the report, though Grabow long opposed it, and in this manner the judgment was compiled, signed and sent to the King at Frederiksborg, for the privates in particular would be content with nothing less than that the conduct and false charges of the Provost to the Court and the doomsmen should be all committed to writing for the King's eyes.

One of the privates, by name Michael, who lived in Vingaardsstræde and was a tailor by trade, was an old and tried friend of mine. I have already mentioned him where I told of the arrival of the Bishop of Bremen¹. This man came up to the Castle to speak with me late in the evening of the day on which this dissension had arisen between Grabow and

¹ See p. 93 *supra*.

his companions. He brought me a bottle of Rhenish wine and told me the whole tale right through, and was full of indignation at Grabow's harshness towards me, as indeed were most of the leading persons in the town, and also my comrades who were in the service, together with the very officers of the Arsenal, so that all were amazed at his spite, harshness and hatred towards me. Michael went home to his lodging praying and calling down blessings on my head.

Early one morning three days later, there came up into the Tower from the Arsenal a worthy man and an especially good friend of mine, by name Morten Holst¹, who would often sport with me as a mother with her child. He had been left as an inspector of merchants' wares here in Iceland and had remained here in the north for three years, and had been one year at Eyrarbakki². This man said he was about to be sent from the Arsenal to the King at Frederiksborg with the verdict and he asked me to pray God that his journey might be successful, which I wished with all my heart. Thereupon he bade me a tearful farewell and took his place on a vehicle which was waiting outside the Castle gate and so repaired to Frederiksborg.

The King received the verdict and perused it, and after he had considered it, he asked which Jón this was, whether the elder or the younger, and Morten said it was the younger. The King said it seemed to him that the Provost was the more guilty, and Jón ought to be set free, for, "In this country," said the King, "heads do not grow on cabbage-stalks." The King said that he knew me well, and that I had been twice on shipboard with him; and moreover that there was now no Icelfander in the service except myself. But I was to bear an iron until he came himself: the Provost, however, was to be dismissed.

Then Morten took leave of the King and bade him a

¹ In a list from 1620 of "the King's men who practise trade" in Copenhagen (and yet pay no tax) we find: Morten Holst, artilleryman, *Provost*, draws ale in Vingaardsstræde. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* iv, p. 772.) He must have been appointed Provost very shortly after Jón's trial, and this bears out Jón's statement that the previous Provost (Søren Nibe) was dismissed.

² On south coast.

reverent farewell, and so sped as fast as he might to Copenhagen. And early the next morning he came up into the Blue Tower to visit me, shouting down to me and asking whether I were awake or asleep. Then he greeted me tenderly. I said that I had slept little or not at all that night, and asked him for his tidings. He made as if he could tell but little news, except that we must now part, and that I was bidden by the King to wish the world good night. Whereat I began to lament. But as soon as he heard that, he altered his tune and said it had been but his fun, and that he had desired to know how I should bear myself, and bade me not take it ill though he had acted so, counting on our old acquaintance. He said that he rejoiced more over my release than he could say and he praised God that it had been granted to him to bring the good tidings.

Afterwards the Provost came to fetch me with his four armed soldiers of the Arsenal guard. And when I came to the Arsenal my comrades rejoiced at my arrival. Then I was called into the office, where all the officers of the Arsenal were seated, and also twelve master-gunners, and they all bade me welcome except Adolph Grabow, who addressed me thus: "So, Jón Ólafsson, thou art returned alive, which I little thought would happen." I answered: "God is greater than men." Grabow replied: "Nevertheless, the King has given me the power to make thee wear one fetter until he comes, but if I had been allowed my own way, thou shouldst have been cast into the great prison at Bremerholm¹, once thy life had been granted thee." I answered: "What then is the fault I committed against you that I should meet with such spite and hatred? But that saying has often proved true, that he who digs a pit for another who is innocent of great offence, is apt to fall into it himself." Grabow demanded whether I wished accidents to befall him. I say, not at all, even though I allude to an old saying, but one thing there is which I know and recognize to be most true in this affair, and I think he cannot be wroth thereat, namely that I have to thank God's and the King's mercy for my life, and to attribute it to them

¹ For the prison at Bremerholm, cp. p. 42 *supra*.

rather than to his good intentions, offices and exertions. Whereat the Arsenal-Master, Christoffer Schwenke, grinned. Grabow says my conceit is but little taken down so far. The Arsenal-Master said that that was enough, got up in haste and left the room.

Thereupon Grabow bade the Provost conduct me to the Island¹ to Master Anders², who was the King's chief smith, and ordered him to fasten an iron ring round my neck, outside my clothes, as was done with several persons. On it, at the nape of my neck, there was a thin iron ring, on which hung a bell of such dimensions that a man with large hands could conceal it inside them. And when Master Anders received this message and I stood before him in his parlour on Bremerholm—the which parlour was very grand and with a sweet perfume—he was full of wrath with Grabow and his urgent message, and said that he might find another executioner or a more handy prentice than himself, for that he would not needlessly incur any man's ill-will to profit Grabow. But because I greatly feared Grabow and his malice, and since I did not know how things might turn out, I urgently besought Master Anders that it might be done as Grabow had directed, and said that I would remember it rather with gratitude than with offence, and never bear a grudge against him for it; and so for my prayers he allowed himself to be urged to it, and gave me a good drink of wine out of his jug before I went away. Furthermore, he blamed the Provost for his conduct in our affair, and spoke in my favour in several matters. After this we took our leave and on the way to the gate we met the Admiral of Bremerholm, Sten Villumsen³. He sees what an ornament I am decorated with, and laughs, not at my shame, but rather at Grabow and his hatred of me,

¹ Island, Dan. Holm, the ordinary term for Bremerholm.

² Anders Bentzinger was appointed smith to the "Great Smithy" on Bremerholm in 1592, at a wage of 150 dollars, certain lengths of cloth, two oxen, six lambs, six geese, six swine, one barrel of butter, and various other payments in kind, including a barrel of ale a month. (*Kjøbenhavn's Dipl.* iv. p. 706.) His widow is mentioned in 1646 (*op. cit.* III, p. 264). Cp. Lind, p. 359.

³ Sten Villumsen Rosenvinge of Tose, Admiral of Bremerholm from 1613 to 1630; see p. 88 *supra*.

and he says he observes that Grabow's love of me is small, and says that Grabow should be ashamed in that he had wrongfully interfered and overstepped his office by presiding in the Arsenal over the proceedings which he, the Admiral, ought to have presided over on Bremerholm, prosecuting and releasing; and that if I had sent him a timely word he would soon have had me set at liberty. He declared that Grabow should be formally and legally charged by him with this before he had done with him, and that he (Grabow) had nothing whatever to do with those who were assigned as sentries to the royal fleet¹. And but that Grabow had had that fetter placed upon me with the King's sanction, he declared he should instantly have it removed. So we parted, and he went up to the Island and we to the Arsenal.

Grabow thought himself lucky to be able to treat me thus, and he forbade me to issue out of the Arsenal Gate until the King should come, and I was directed by him to have my night's lodging alone up in a vaulted chamber or high stone hall, and my bed-gear was taken thither. Grabow ordered me to ring my bell continually; otherwise he threatened me with more afflictions, but the Arsenal-Master and the other three, who always wished me well, told me secretly that I should not do it, but rather spite and annoy him by muffling the clapper with hemp, which I did, so that he was often filled with violent wrath against me; but because all were on my side I heeded him but little, and the longer this went on the bolder I grew against him both in word and deed, so that at last he wearied of finding open fault with me.

I was handed over to the smith who worked in the Arsenal, making all that was needed, and he was well content with me and became my good friend. There I remained for nearly a month. So far as my memory serves, these trials and confine-

¹ The Admiral of the Island presided over courts-martial in Bremerholm, in those cases in which both accused and prosecutor were in the King's service. (Lind, p. 61; cp. also Garde, *Efterretn.* 1, p. 159.) The superior authority for both the Arsenal and for Bremerholm seems really to have been the Statholder of Copenhagen, but this post was, as we have seen, vacant. In the circumstances it seems probable that if the Admiral had known and had cared to exert his authority the conduct of the case would not have been left to Grabow alone.

ments, which I suffered in three places, endured altogether for nine or ten weeks. It often happened during the month that I was confined in the Arsenal that worthy persons of my acquaintance would send hot food twice or thrice in the week, well prepared, with wine or ale, by the hands of their serving-men or maids. Not least did that worthy man, Søren Villadsen the tailor, perform this work of charity and of Christian neighbourliness, both in will and deed, at that time and at other times. He might be called the father of all those Icelanders who lived within the gates of Copenhagen and who sought him out courteously, and his name and memory shall never be forgotten by me, so long as my life in this world continues by God's grace.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AND when I had been three nights confined in the Arsenal, there came thither a tower-builder's chief apprentice, called Zacharias, somewhat deranged in the head, and all the guards of the Arsenal were ordered to keep careful watch over him. This man was exceedingly well-endowed with spiritual and temporal wisdom and understanding. His master lived at Elsinore. It had so happened a short time previously that the King had sent him a message, and had drawn out upon a sheet of paper a very remarkable tower, so constructed that when 1000 men ascended it, it should look as if only one were mounting up it¹. And the King had withal fixed a time when the tower should be built and finished. This invention of the King's and the commission to build it bore hard on the builder and he became so glum that all remarked it. One day in a secret place he comes to see this said Zacharias, his chief apprentice, and begs him for help and good counsel, so that he might not be disgraced by his incapacity, which might well happen (as he could clearly foresee) if Zacharias did not contribute help and good counsel. But he asked him to keep the matter secret and promised him a good reward above his daily wage, if the work was accomplished. Zacharias set himself to speculate and consider the said design, so that the work went well and was brought to a good conclusion, and the King was well pleased, the which his master attributed entirely to himself and his own skill. But some time later it was bruited abroad in the town that Zacharias his servant had been cleverer than his master in the said work, and thereat the master took a dislike to Zacharias, and maintained that he had been the cause of the said rumour, which however was not proven. A short time later Zacharias

¹ Nothing is known of this tower, and it seems likely that Zacharias' account of it was confused. It is known that Christian IV himself drew plans for parts of the buildings erected at his orders, and possibly also for his ships. Cp. *Dansk Biogr. Lex.* III, p. 499.

found himself ailing and he thought that the master had brought it upon him by magic, but because men thought his talk showed a derangement of mind, and it was not brought to the ears of the authorities, he said no more about it. It was for half a year that he suffered this weakness but recovered wholly again later. He was a worthy fellow and a God-fearing, according to my poor opinion, and as one might see between his attacks and times of sore trial. He was allotted a resting-place in the vaulted chamber or hall where I slept, and which was by the harbour and the entrance thereto, in which harbour lay eleven of the smallest ships of war, and on these watch was kept day and night every winter while they lay there.

Zacharias had books with him, the which he read daily in between his temptations, but in his frenzies he would fling them away, and it would even happen that he uttered blasphemy, which he would anon sorely repent. In his crazy fits none could come near him save I alone, and I used often to seize him in my arms with the greatest hardihood and courage, and bear him to his bed, and lay myself down upon him at full length, with gentle words and rough handling. At times he would strike me and spit in my face, which I suffered in patience, save that with severe reproaches and spiritual zeal, and inspired by the spirit of God, I unceasingly cast up against the devil who oppressed him his spiritual disgrace and everlasting shame, and the monstrous cruelty he displayed to the children of God, when God permitted it. And Zacharias would give thanks to God and to me with tears, and humbly ask my forgiveness. Before he came to the Arsenal he had addressed the Chancellor and the Governor of the Castle in ugly fashion and unbecoming language. But then God's aid came to strengthen him, so that he obtained the situation in which his master had recently died, and became the lawful husband of his widow; and here we may end this tale.

Now it must be told that in the month of April, after Easter, King Christian came with a noble company to Copenhagen Castle and on the same day to the Arsenal, the which

visit was previously announced by a messenger. The Master of the Arsenal in his kindness came to speak to me in the smithy to inform me of this and he says that I must today let my bell ring when the King is by, and he counsels me to show myself humble but yet speak up boldly to the King, though in all reverence. He promised to put in a good word if he happened to be at hand.

Now the King's dog used to run before him wherever he intended to go, and was accordingly a convenient warning to many people, so that the King seldom came upon a man unawares. There was a house within the walls, next to the smithy, which was called the workshop, where the King's fireworkers, as they were called, young men from among the artillerymen, worked there at their business¹, as I have related before². The King used always to go thither when he came to the Arsenal, and so it happened this time also. With him walked the Prince of blessed memory³ and his other two sons, Duke Frederik and Duke Ulrik, and they were accompanied by the Chancellor Jacob Ulfeldt⁴ and the Governor of the Castle, Cai Rantzau, with several serving-men and courtiers in their company.

And when the King came in at the door, I was working the bellows, and left off when he approached. The King asked: "Who has decorated thee with this finery, Jón?" Then I fell on one knee and begged the King to show mercy to me and I a poor man and a stranger. The King approached the smith and looked at the work he was engaged upon. And because

¹ The "fyrværker" or "fyrverper" were promoted from among the artillerymen. (Blom, p. 22.) It is known that such activities as hand-grenade making went on in the Arsenal, for it was owing to carelessness in the preparation of a grenade that the Arsenal was burnt in 1647. (*Hist. Medd. om København*, III, p. 171.)

² Jón has made no previous reference to the fireworkers.

³ Duke Christian, the heir-apparent, who died in 1647.

⁴ Jacob Ulfeldt, b. 1567, d. 1630, became Chancellor of State in 1609. He had gone abroad as a lad of fourteen, and had visited Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, Malta, Greece, Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, Spain, France and Holland. (The Chancellor of State, *Rigskansler*, earlier *Justitiarius*, must be distinguished from the Chancellor to the King, a post at this time held by Christian Friis of Kragerup. The *Rigskansler* was the President of the High Court of Justice, and kept the seal of the kingdom. Cp. *Den danske Centraladministration*, pp. 117, 137, etc.)

the King was silent, all his companions acted likewise. Now Grabow stood just behind the King and thought to himself he would be at hand to answer if need should be. Then the King looked at Grabow and said: "Is it Jón who neglected his watch?" Grabow at once answered, "Yes." I said: "Gracious lord! I beg your Royal Majesty graciously to deign to listen to one word from me." The King replied: "Then tell what can be said with truth and honour." I described the enmity of the Provost towards me and the violence he displayed to me on that occasion, whereby I was hindered from standing guard, and also his wrongful accusation before the Court. Grabow rejoined: "Hold thy tongue!" The King spoke no word for a while nor any of them who stood by. Suddenly His Majesty looked quickly at Grabow and said: "Let him be quit of his fetter and confinement now instantly, so that he may be a free man." And then he says to me: "Be very heedful of thyself in future, dear Jón." I prayed in tears that God might always reward him with temporal and eternal blessing. The King said to Jacob Ulfeldt and the other bystanders: "This is an Icelander, a fine young fellow, and he has been on two voyages on the same vessel as ourselves, and we were well satisfied with his conduct; and there are now no other Icelanders in the service save him. But that Provost shall be dismissed and he ought to be ashamed of himself into the bargain." And he forbade him to wear the bâton of office any longer. Grabow durst not utter a word.

The King directed the smith, whose name was Hans Westphalen¹, to take the iron off me, the which gave him much work with a file, for the joint was made fast with a nail. The King went into the workshop where fireworks were manufactured: and when he came past again he asked the smith if he had not yet finished the job. The smith said the most of it was done. The King bade him hasten and not dally.

His Majesty quitted us and went into the forecourt of the Arsenal, where he examined a boom two or three fathoms in

¹ Hans Westphalen, described in 1668 as smith, had a house in Copenhagen in 1661 and 1668 and is also mentioned in the town archives in 1606. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* i, pp. 566, 762; ii, p. 832.)

circumference, which he had had made for the mouth of the harbour by the Arsenal, and it was so huge and thick that a hundred men had work enough to move it. But it was so well balanced that one man¹ could easily manage it when it was to be swung out into the harbour from the shore, which was done every evening. It was shot out from the land across the harbour by one winch and in a like manner the double gates of the harbour were closed every evening.

While the King stood and considered this boom, the Master of the Arsenal came walking up to the workshop at a quick pace and in a great rage, drew the sword which hung by his side, and threatened to cleave the smith's head if he did not instantly and forthwith release me from the iron. He wrathfully cursed the Master Grabow for his persistent enmity and mean attacks upon me, which he said Grabow was even now displaying, for he was complaining to His Majesty that I was too presumptuous for him, and had asked the King for permission to keep me at forced work at the Arsenal for half a year, but the King had answered not at all.

And now I was released from my confinement. The Master directed me to leave the Arsenal at once, and repair to my lodgings, and not to return till full six weeks had passed. He said he would take the responsibility. I thanked him humbly for his loving and Christian compassion and kindly offices. Then I took leave of the smith and thanked him for all he had done for me, but he wept like a child and said he would never get another like me out of all who were ordered to assist him from the ranks of the artillerymen.

So I went to the gate and sought to pass out. It was true that the watchman and all the people rejoiced over my release and deliverance, but yet it happened that I was prevented from issuing forth, for they said that it had been forbidden by Grabow, and they begged my forgiveness. I sat down on the watchman's bench and wept bitterly, and thought of David and Saul. Just at that moment the Master of the Arsenal came walking briskly to where I sat, and asks me for what cause I

¹ In 1661 we find a house belonging to Jens "the boom-closer," on the shore. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* 1, p. 732.)

sit there and weep. I tell him what had passed. He seizes me roughly and commands me to go out, and declares that if any presume to hinder my going forth he will strike him dead with his own sword, the which he had naked in his hand. Whereupon I quitted the Castle as a free man in the sight of all. But there was a great to-do after my departure between Grabow and the Master of the Arsenal, so much that the latter challenged him to a duel, but Grabow durst not accept it, for the Master was an excellent duellist, and acquainted with many feats of skill and sports. And when I came into the town all my acquaintances and countrymen welcomed me.

CHAPTER XXIX

HEREIN IS TOLD IN THE BRIEFEST FASHION HOW A SHORT TIME AFTER THE EVENTS RELATED ABOVE, LUCK CHANGED FOR GRABOW, AS OFTEN BEFALLS THOSE WHO DIG A PIT FOR OTHERS; BUT IN ORDER THAT THE MATTER MAY BE UNDERSTOOD MORE CLEARLY IT IS NEEDFUL TO RELATE THE WHOLE COURSE OF EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE AFFAIR, THE WHICH BEGINS AS FOLLOWS

ONE of our fellow-gunners at the Arsenal, by name Søren Andersen, an elderly man, quiet and worthy, being well-to-do beyond the ruck of us, had a fair wife, of middle age, called Mette or Mathilde, and by her two sons, Rasmus and Anders, who had sailed to Spain, fine young fellows. This Mette had a good name among the gentry, the citizens and the farmers, and gave herself out as practised in healing. She measured with a band those who were afflicted with the wasting sickness and made signs and passes, so that they recovered. She also declared that she knew cures for colic and ague, and took money for them from the farmers: also that she could put a stop to wet weather, and took money for it. For all this there arose a complaint from the farmers that she had fooled many out of their money by trickery and fair words. This rumour reached Copenhagen Castle, and with his consent the wife of the Governor sent for her to visit her, and made out to her in secret that she had lost a silver jug, and asked her to bring about the discovery of the thief, and gave her wine and drink and promised high rewards if she were successful. And although she excused herself for a long time, at last she promised to come again the next morning to satisfy the lady's wish in some way, moved by her kindness and the presents. She came next morning and told the lady that she should seek the jug in the room of her serving-maid, whom she named. But the Governor of the Castle was standing

outside the chamber door where they were shut in, and she was seized and cast into prison at the gaoler's, that is he who locks up and lets loose every prisoner, both those who are confined in the cellar of the Town Hall, and those who are in his own keeping to be punished in life and limb. She was frequently put to the torture in the Town Hall, and would never confess anything more than has been told, and said that it would be more fitting to rack and torture those women who destroyed their mates, or their husband, with poison. They questioned her eagerly, and she began as follows. A woman in Store Færgestræde, Anna by name, wife of Peter Holst¹, had begged her in a friendly manner to buy her as much poison as would suffice to kill one person, for that Grabow, before he went away, had urgently pressed her to put an end to her husband, who was an old man and called Peter Holst. He had been a captain under King Frederik and King Christian, and was a worthy and God-fearing man of dignified appearance; and when he issued forth from his house to visit his friends or take a walk on the shore to pass the time, he would take a link-boy² as the Burgomasters and other officials use. King Frederik had assigned him for his support 100 florins yearly for as long as he should live, and this was brought to his door every autumn in cattle and sheep and pigs and such-like³. For this her excellent husband she had for many years placed a bed in the attic of his house. In this same house Grabow had had his lodgings for ten years previous to these events.

Now we return to where Mette makes this declaration before the Burgomasters and the Councillors of the town, that Anna had asked her for this [poison] and promised her great reward if she would brew it sufficient for her, for she durst not do

¹ As the Danish editors have pointed out, Peter Holst must be the Peter Asmussen Vejle or Holst who seems to have been in the navy as early as 1570. He became Lieutenant in 1589 and Captain in 1590, and was active in the navy till 1611. (Lind, p. 138.) In 1602 he is mentioned as having a house near the King's herb-garden. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* II, p. 512.)

² Link-boy (?). The original has the unknown word *tapar*, which has been interpreted by Prof. B. M. Olsen as the English *taper*. In older Danish we find *tabersvend*, a torch-bearing lad. [S.B.]

³ Wages were largely paid in kind, cp. note 2 to p. 188 above.

otherwise, because Grabow said he would withhold his affection, love and favour from her unless she had ridded herself of Holst before he came back from a journey to Holstein to visit his parents, and he [Grabow] had planned it thus with forethought that he might be away when the deed was done.

Mette declared that she had refused to brew such a draught, but had been moved by the other's continual prayers to purchase for her such a poison, which had been the death of the said husband, but that she had neither brewed it nor given it to him. This was committed to writing but not made public, for it was kept secret until Grabow returned. But this Mette was put to death on Gammeltorv, as it is called, east of the Town Hall, the usual spot for executions¹.

Now it must be told how the evening of Grabow's return the sergeant of the watch, Søren Tran, with all the town watch, thirty-two men, was despatched to his house when all the folk were abed, and knocked at the door. Grabow had many friends and they had told him on his arrival what kind of talk was about, though few knew of it in the town, and that he must heed himself. Now Grabow donned his garments in haste, and went to the outer door, and asked who knocked. But the sergeant says that good friends are knocking, whereupon Grabow bids them go home for the night and return next day. The chief constable threatens to break in the door if it be not opened. Grabow asks them to wait while he kindles a light, and goes into the parlour, kindles a light, and in haste flings the woman into a large chest, which he locks and places garments over it for concealment. Now he goes to the door again and asks with whom their business is. The sergeant says he has business with the woman who lives there. Grabow says she went out for the evening to visit friends, but he knows not where. The other bids him open the door notwithstanding, which he did. And when they entered and looked through parlour and attic and sought and found nothing, they threatened to break open everything, chests and boxes, wardrobes and everything else which might stand in the way and give cause to suspect the

¹ Gammeltorv, "Old Market-place," see map of Copenhagen.

concealment of the woman. But Grabow dissuaded them with fair words and bribes, but had to stand surety for her and undertake bail till next day, which he did by clasp of hands¹. Then they went away, and the next morning a message was sent to Grabow from the Burgomasters bidding him come at once to the Town Hall. And when he had come, they told him that it would be best for him to withdraw his surety for his landlady Anna, who had done her husband to death with poison, and they said they were of the opinion that things were turning out in such fashion that he would have enough to do with attending to his own straits before he was through with it; whereat he was grievously afflicted. But during this conversation two worthy and honourable men were sent by the Burgomasters to Anna with fetters for hands and feet, and they were to place them on her and take charge of her. And when they came to her house and to where she was lying in bed, fully clothed, and she observed the irons, she was somewhat disturbed and asked what those irons purported. But they told her everything that had happened. She said there was no need of such dealings, for Grabow was standing surety for her. They said that his surety was withdrawn. And when she heard that, she felt in her pocket and produced two knives inlaid with silver, which were Grabow's, and one of them she plunged in her breast near the heart and flung it against the door with the wish that it had entered his heart too. At once she asked for a minister of religion. Accordingly, Master Nicolaus², parish priest of St Nicholas', came to her, and she acknowledged to him her dire crime, that for nine years she had polluted her marriage by sinful intercourse with Grabow, and had borne two children³ and had neglected lawful cohabitation with her husband. Of this

¹ Clasp of hands, according to ancient Scandinavian custom the legal method of making a pledge: cp. Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, pp. 220, 284.

² There is no trace of a minister Nicolaus of St Nicholas' church at this time. It may be that Jón has given the parish priest the name of the church (cp. "Gabriel" Kruse of the *Gabriel*, p. 153 *supra*), or, as suggested by the Danish editors, it was Master Niels Mikkelsen Aalborg, minister of Holmens church (Bremerholm church), built for the navy, who received the confession of the Captain's wife.

³ Parish registers show a son of Holst baptized in 1618, and a daughter in the summer of 1620. (Lind, p. 139.)

crime she declared Grabow to be wholly and entirely the cause, and through his evil incitement before he left home, he had also induced her to give her husband poison so that he perished, to which she pleaded guilty. She had given her children's nurse the poisoned drink, to carry up in the jug which was customarily brought to him every evening for the quenching of his thirst in the night. And because she so greatly repented her misdeed, with tears, and longed for comfort in God's word from the minister in that hour of her mortal need, he granted her the grace of holy absolution and the sacrament; and she died soon after. But the nurse was cast into prison and must needs lose her life, though she offered to swear that she had carried him the poison unwittingly. The body of this woman Anna, Peter Holst's widow, lay unburied for thirteen weeks, and was taken out to the New Graveyard outside the North Gate of the town¹, and it lay there in a double coffin² on a bier in a penthouse. Many a man rested his elbows on her coffin, I amongst others, and drank many a quart of ale there on Sundays when we walked out thither³. But why her body lay so long unburied was due to the circumstances hereinafter related.

¹ This graveyard (see map) was first made in 1546 for the victims of the plague. It was much despised as a place of burial, and indeed seems to have been in a terrible condition. In 1564 the verger of Our Lady's church, who was responsible for its upkeep, admits to having given up the attempt to keep it respectable, and says he left it to the care of the sextons. One of the sextons is admonished for having dug up and opened the coffins of the newly-buried, striking the corpses, "bidding them stand up in the name of a thousand devils, they had lain there long enough." Cp. Liisberg, *København*, p. 154, and C. Bruun, *Kjøbenhavn*, I, p. 321.

² I.e., an inner and an outer coffin, cp. p. 151 *supra*.

³ Evidently in Jón's time the custom of picnicking in the graveyard had already begun, though we first hear of it about 1650. At that time the New Graveyard was full of people who came out for Sundays and had food brought to them there from the gardens. (Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Hist.*, IV, pp. 305 f.) The sexton mentioned in the preceding note kept a tavern on the premises, and we see that his successors did so too. It must be remembered that the people were accustomed to associate coffins with drinking. The coffin with the corpse in it was present at the lyke-wake, and as Troels Lund says: "it was regarded as ungentle if those present at a lyke-wake were not drunk." (*Dagligt Liv*, xiv, p. 76.) A visitor to Denmark during the Thirty Years' War observes that in Denmark, "When anyone dies, people do not weep and bewail themselves, but laugh, eat, drink and dance round the coffin." (Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, I, p. 76, quoted by Troels Lund.)

CHAPTER XXX

AND when this awful deed had happened, that Anna had laid violent hands on herself, and previously declared Grabow to be as guilty as herself in the crime previously mentioned, the tale was at once carried to the King, and Grabow was summoned to his presence, and was to be confined in the Blue Tower. But there were at that time many persons of the nobility recently come together in Copenhagen; and he sent in haste to these, and by their entreaties he was granted so much grace that twelve men of the nobility and six of the citizens were to stand surety for him that he would not escape before the session of the High Court was held in Copenhagen about Midsummer¹. The King wished to have him executed at once, and said that if he had a hundred lives he would have forfeited them all, and for that reason the woman's body was not to be buried before he could be placed in the same grave; and no one thought other but that this would happen. But when the High Court was held, all of the Danish nobility pleaded for Barabbas, or Grabow, that he should be delivered; and they pressed the matter against the King with such hardihood that, sorely against his will, he had to let it be as they and their wives and daughters prayed², so that Grabow was released, and the King laid the responsibility to God on their shoulders and in their hands. But before her body was interred, her brother Morten came from Holstein, and paid 300 florins that it might be buried within

¹ A *Herredag* was both a session of the High Court and a meeting of the Council of State, cp. note 1, p. 98 *supra*. Such a session began on May 27, 1621. (Cp. Erslev, *Rigsraadets Historie*, I, p. 315.)

² It must be remembered that during Christian IV's reign the nobles were extremely powerful. An Italian diplomat, writing home in 1625, observes truly that the government of the Danish State is very dependent on the nobles: without them the King can decide nothing of importance, more especially as regards the administration of justice. (*Danske Magasin*, VI R., 1 Bd. p. 346.) There was a strong sense of solidarity among the nobles. For similar cases of the pressure brought to bear on Christian IV by the nobles, see Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, pp. 94, 103 note 1 and 108 f.

the churchyard in consecrated ground; but he only obtained his wish for one-half of the body¹.

Five persons lost their lives through their crime: firstly, a pious weaver's wife, Elizabeth by name, who lived in the same street and was the first to mention their intercourse publicly, and said that she foresaw a heavy punishment for those who lived there because of these two persons, Grabow and Anna, who so heedlessly lived in shocking sin and evil conduct towards the worthy old man Peter Holst, who had to feed on their leavings. This censure and blame and the discourse of the woman came to the ears of Grabow and Anna, and they bribed two young men to give the woman a fright, which they did by standing under the window of her house, and in the evening when she was sitting down to table with her husband, they uttered such awful screeches as if it had been monsters or supernatural creatures. But she was near her confinement and when she heard these sounds she fell down dead. The lads took to their heels.

The second who lost his life was the good old man. No. 3 was his wife Anna, who laid hands on herself. The fourth was Mette, who was executed because she had bought the poison at the shop. The fifth was the innocent and pious nurse, who carried the draught up to the man's bedside and who was also called Anna, an excellent person over whom nigh upon the whole town grieved sorely. I remember that she was four times examined by the Court. It was half a year before she was executed, declaring her innocence before God.

And here we can end this story, save that Grabow did not lose his life and was again set over the artillerymen (though they were ill content), but on condition that he conducted himself peaceably towards all, and if it proved otherwise, he should have another and a worse place found for him².

And now time passes until one Sunday the King acquaints us, by the mouth of the Provost Morten Holst (who had been

¹ The body was probably buried under the graveyard wall, half within and half without. [R.C.]

² For considerations on the accuracy of the story about Grabow, see *Intro.*

recently appointed in the place of that other), that all we gunners were to repair by the following morning to a castle in the country called Ibstrup¹, eight miles from Copenhagen, and that we were to be there by six o'clock; so most of us had to spend the night on the journey. I accompanied a man called Henrik that night, and we turned along the road which leads to Frederiksborg. This road, called the King's Road, is so made that it is built up like a causeway, and stands as high as a well-grown man in most parts, and in some places is higher still; and there are gates across it at intervals. During the night the moon shone at times, so that helped us. On the road we found a draught horse belonging to some farmers: we made bold to take it, put on a bit and climbed on to its back, and it gave us a good lift for most of the way. We did not travel by the high road, for we durst not, but hit upon the plan of hauling the jade on to the King's Causeway², in the which we succeeded after many struggles. And when we were come as far along it as we dared, we let the jade drop down from the King's Way on to the flat land below, and we arrived without mishap. And in the morning, when the King himself mustered us, we had all come save one who was called Malchus, a barber by trade (there was one other barber in the service, called Peter). This Malchus arrived shortly after the roll-call had been read. The King did not say anything about it, but as soon as Malchus came, Grabow ordered him to be put under arrest. And about midday we

¹ The present Jægersborg. About 1609 the King began to build a small castle or hunting-lodge at Ibstrup, about four miles north of Copenhagen. It was pulled down in 1761. (Friis, *Saml.* pp. 135 ff.)

² These "King's Roads" were built and kept in order by the forced labour of the peasants, and were for the sole use of the King and his suite. Cp. the ordinance of King Frederik II, in 1585: "Since Our way and course frequently leads Us between Our Castle Frederiksborg and Copenhagen and We accordingly, not without great expense, have had made a road for Ourselves between the two, and since the said road, were it to be commonly used and travelled upon, would soon be spoiled and become worse than the common road...it is forbidden to all and sundry, especially to those in Our service or in the service of the crown, to use the said road." The penalty is the loss of horse, cart, the goods carried, and half the culprit's farm. (Secher, *Forordn.* II, pp. 379 f.) In 1596 Christian IV issued a similar warning about the royal road between Antvorskov and Ringsted (*op. cit.* III, pp. 39 f.).

all went before the King and asked for his release, which was at once granted, and it appeared that the King was ignorant of his arrest, which he said was Grabow's doing.

The work which we were to do for the King and for which he promised us a wage was as follows. To the south of Ibstrup Castle there was a circular piece of water¹ in which trees had once grown, but the King had had them cut down; and this summer he had had all the roots of these trees sawn across down at the bottom of the water, which he had got done by seven High Germans², who had acquired the art. It was our task to take all these tree roots, which were no longer attached to the bottom, and drag them away and place them in a pile, and the King himself helped in the work as soon as we had brought the roots ashore. And in the three days we were at Ibstrup it happened that the King was flinging one log after the other on to the pile, while Grabow stood behind him with his sword at his side, the hilt and knob whereof were gilded, and with gold-embroidered gloves on his hands. And when the King turned round and saw Grabow standing so stiffly behind him, his gorge rose, so that we thought, if he had not laid aside his sword, and had had his bâton in his hand, Grabow would have learnt to his cost how insolent it was to stand behind the King and how devoid of modesty his heart was that he could watch His Royal Majesty condescend to undertake bodily toil. But nevertheless Grabow was so startled by the words that the King addressed to him in his wrath, that in all haste he flung aside his sword and set to work, continuing in the same so long as the King was present in person. We were not sorry when the King spoke to him and asked him if he were not somewhat too high-minded, seeing all hard at work and the King himself, and yet daring to stand there in such a haughty attitude, as idle as a dog.

Once when the King was not by, Grabow said to me that

¹ The land round the Castle, which was not yet finished, was full of ponds and small lakes. [R.C.]

² South Germans, called High Germans because of their High German speech, different from the Low German dialects to which the Danes were accustomed.

he could wish that he had me and a hundred of my countrymen under his orders for some such work, and that he might rule and lord it over us at his will. I answer with a smile that the window-frame still creaked to the same tune, but that I did not consider it such an ill wish, if I might add the condition that the hundred whom he desired might all be such as Grettir the strong and Orm Stórolfsson¹, and others like them. All the company grinned and he went away with a sigh.

The third and last evening of our sojourn there Grabow wished us to continue longer at work than was ancient usage and custom at the Arsenal, *viz.* four o'clock. But we did not heed what he said, but put on our outer clothes and went to the King, and told him what was up. Grabow was at once summoned to the King's presence and had to listen once again to rough words and harsh threats from him. After that the King thanked us both for our obedience and for our toil, and gave us twelve barrels of the ale called King's ale. We started back during the evening but only a very few arrived the next day at the Arsenal.

One day it so happened that I and six of the best of my young comrades made up our minds to neglect our work and fail to appear at the muster at the Arsenal, and we clubbed together to have a feast. We held our banquet in the eastern quarter of the town, in a magnificent house, where we thought and fancied that we should be able to hide undetected. But about midday those who sat against the glass window perceived the Provost approaching. Most of them lost heart. Now I was sitting at the head of the table and was by way of being the chief of the party; and I said that they were not to show any trace of shame. When he entered, I bade him welcome. He took my greeting readily and gave no sign, but joked with me according to his habit while our players con-

¹ Grettir the Strong and Orm Stórolfsson, Icelanders from the Viking Age renowned for their physical strength. Orm's greatest feat was to carry the mast of Ólaf Tryggvason's famous ship, the *Long Dragon*, without assistance. Cp. *Fornmanna Sögur*, III, pp. 204-28, and *Grettissaga* (*The Story of Grettir the Outlaw*, ed. Baring Gould). Both heroes were also handy men with their weapons, and Grettir at least was of a hasty temper.

tinued their music. Presently the Provost Morten says it will not do for either him or us to sit there any longer, and that we must accompany him to the Arsenal. We made no bones about that and begged him to put in a good word for us. But when we got there, we were all placed out on the ice, each with an iron bolt about his feet¹ and twelve pails of water were poured over each of us by the Under-Provost Stengaard. We were subjected to this punishment outside the Water Gate in the harbour which lies between the Arsenal and the Provision Store, each of which is a hundred fathoms long. Morten would not punish us himself nor say anything about what we were caught doing, but declared that he had found each of us at home engaged on urgent business. But Laurids, the Under-Provost, was skilful at that kind of punishment, and they called him Roast Lamb, and there was little love lost between us, so that he was continually having tricks played on him. When he had paid us out in this fashion, he said that he had forbidden any of our company to shield us or give us any aid, such as dry clothes or the like, and this by Grabow's orders. I and some others remarked that he always brought us good news and he had to swallow many a taunt, then as always, for our patience with him had worn thin, the fellow being very hostile to us and often reporting and exaggerating our transgressions, the which he could well have left undone. The go-between often has much power: if he wishes to benefit, he can put a better complexion on things, but he can also cause trouble and harm if it be his desire, as is daily shown in practice.

Now it was the custom, as has been said before, that skippers should hold watch in turn, both day and night, over those vessels which lay in the harbour on the other side of the storehouse. From that place there approached us a certain skipper of the name of Peter, who had been chief boatswain on the vessel *St Peter* in which I came from England. He comes up to where I sat with the iron bolt on one of my feet, and covered with ice and wet to the skin, and greets us, and

¹ "Jærnbolt, an iron rod with chain, to which prisoners and convicts were attached by the legs." (Molbech, *Dictionary*.) [R.C.]

says I am an old acquaintance, and with that he takes the fur cap off his head and my hat off mine, and puts his cap on my head, saying that I might keep it until I could bring it back. I tell him he runs a great risk in the face of the Provost's words. He says that is of little consequence to him, for the Provost had no authority over him. No sooner had he gone away than Laurids came up in a great rage, and demanded who had presumed to do the like against the orders of the authorities. I began to flout him, begging him to pardon me, and the others told him he had been made game of, whereupon he went away. But soon after he released us from the irons by order of the authorities.

This winter I had the Arsenal watch, and at that time I had my lodging at the house of a noble lady who had never been married, and who was both worthy and God-fearing and kept house for herself in Vognmandsstræde¹. She had never let lodgings to any man before. She was kindly and very ceremonious, as the gentry are brought up to be; and her name was Christine Svale. She had twice been bewitched and both times had broken the same leg. One of her sisters called Ermegaard lived in the town and was married to a captain in the King's service, whose name was Stephanus². He was a wealthy man and lived in a large house, and underneath it was a cellar for wine and ale, where I could claim a seat and ale without payment every Sunday. This lady told me (together with much else) that she had had seventeen brothers and sisters, and for that reason each had received but a small share of the property. But she told me that her sad mischance in breaking her leg twice was because another young lady had coveted the gentleman to whom she was betrothed, and that both times it had happened the same way. I was not allowed

¹ Vognmandsstræde, cp. note 3 to p. 39 *supra*.

² Christine Svale was the daughter of Verner Bertelsen Svale of Bisbo in Fyen. Her sister Ermegaard was the wife of Captain Steffen Sørensen. [Communicated by the late Mr Thiset, Archivist, to R.C.] In 1620 a Steffen Sørensen lived on the Strand, and in 1626 a man of the same name owned land in Christianshavn. (*Kjøbenhavns Dipl.* II, p. 615; III, p. 52.) These references are taken by Lind to apply to a Bremerholm clerk of the same name (pp. 348 f.), but it seems more likely that the house at any rate belonged to the Captain, who is not mentioned by Lind.

to bring anyone into the house without her permission, and she never spoke a harsh word to me all the eighteen months that I lodged there, save one time when it chanced that she had forgotten to lock up in the press a book belonging to her and her sister, an heirloom which was called Henrik Smid's Book¹, the which contained a description of all the various diseases and ailments which could befall a human being, whether man or woman, in this world, and cures for each of them. She would not let anyone glance at this book, but I transgressed her wish and had begun to read in it when she entered the parlour. She let me feel her displeasure at once and said that the book was not for the eyes of immodest rascals, and she added a great deal about the nature and disposition of men, and especially still more of women. And when she had made me a long sermon thereon, she relented somewhat in her speech, and said that she did not fancy or believe me to be a rascal so far as she could observe, nor had my conduct appeared to be very disagreeable all the time I had lived in her house; and at the end she begged my forgiveness and gave me permission to read the book so long as her sister did not get to know of it: so I wrote out five or six sheets, which were brought into the cabin on the occasion of my receiving the injury of which I shall bear the marks to my death.

Now I will leave Christine Svale for awhile and pass on to tell how in the spring the King had six of the largest ships got ready for a voyage and himself voyaged to Bergen in Norway with the three young gentlemen, the Chancellor, the

¹ Henrik Smith or Smid, Inspector of Weights and Measures at Malmö, wrote a number of popular medical works in the first half of the 16th century. He says he had practised medicine himself, but abandoned it as an ungrateful career. His compilations are extracts from the works of more learned authors. The book Jón alludes to is probably the *Lægebog* (Book of Healing), containing a collection of several treatises, including one on cures for the diseases of women and children. One edition was printed at Copenhagen in 1577, another at Lübeck and Rostock in 1598-9. According to Mansa, *Bidrag*, p. 176, the symptoms by which the various diseases are to be recognized are very summarily treated. It seems, however, that the medicaments recommended by Smith still influence the treatment of "wise" women and other quacks in Denmark. (Cp. *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*, and Chr. Bruun, *Bibliotheca Danica*, I, p. 799.)

Statholder and all the Council of the kingdom of Denmark. A session of the High Court¹ was to be held there in the year 1621². But when we were off the coast of Norway we met a vessel which had escorted the *St Lars* (or as it was also called, the *Spaniel*) on its way to India³, to the fortress which the Danes had built there, which was called Dansborg, and which will be told of later if God grants me life. And we thus became a fleet of seven ships, and had a favourable wind until we came as far north as the sound which runs up to the town of Bergen, and is twelve sea-miles in length. Most vessels do not sail up this sound owing to the calms, but round by way of the open sea, though it be a greater distance. The King however decided to sail up the sound, and the skippers thought it rash because of the calms which often occur there and the very great depth of the water, so that anchors cannot be dropped.

At that time the King's own ship was the *Patientia*⁴, a huge and magnificent man-of-war. She had seventy-two cannon on board, all of bronze. She was much gilded both in the bows and stern, and had a double gallery with gilded pillars: that is the outside way up from the cabin where the officers stand and pledge each other when the ships sail side by side. The second warship, the next in rank, was called *St Anna*⁵ and was a large vessel with fifty-six cannon: she was also

¹ Herredag. Cp. note 1, p. 98, *supra*. A Herredag was held in Norway every three years.

² This expedition really took place in 1622, and according to Ole Worm's Diary, incorporating extracts from Christian IV's, started from Kronborg on July 18.

³ The *Spaniel* (*Vaterhunden*) had left Copenhagen for India on April 21 (Ole Worm's *Dagbøger, Danske Saml.* II R., 3 Bd. p. 371). Owing to Ove Gjedde's seizure of certain French privateers in 1618, the Danes feared reprisals on their own vessels, and in 1622 all vessels to Spain were convoyed. (H. G. Garde, *Den Dansk-Norske Sømagts Hist.* pp. 146 f.) The *Spaniel* was convoyed as far as the Canary Islands by the *Nettle-leaf* (*Nældeblad*), Captain Jens Munk. (Lind, p. 195.)

⁴ *Patientia* is mentioned in 1644 as carrying forty guns and a crew of 360 men. Only one or two vessels had as many as seventy-two guns: the old *Fortuna*, in 1586, had eighty, and in 1648 the *Sophia Amalie* and the *Prince Christian* had over seventy. (Garde, *Efterretninger*, pp. 74, 147.)

⁵ The *St Anna* and the *Justitia*, also *St Peter* mentioned above, p. 32, were built for Christian IV in Copenhagen by his Scotch ship-builder David Balfour. (Garde, *Efterretninger*, p. 130.)

gilded at stem and stern, and had carved figures on either side painted in various colours, as had also the *Patientia* and the highest class of warships. The third warship was the *Justitia*¹, a large vessel with fifty cannon and the same decoration as those I have already described. It was on this vessel that I was serving as gunner. My captain was Christoffer Boye², a man of English ancestry on his father's side. He had just made a voyage to the East Indies and was returned thence that spring. The ship's master was Peter Hansen³ and my master-gunner was Niels Dreyer, a very pious man, but yet kind to me. Counting him, we were twenty-five artillerymen in all. The fourth vessel was *Spes*⁴, a splendid warship with quite forty cannon, and well equipped in every way. The fifth was *Fides*, a fast sailer and a handsome craft. The sixth was the *Black Knight*, a large and handsome warship with an equal number of cannon, all of bronze. The seventh ship, which joined us, as I have mentioned before, was the *Lübeck David*⁵, a fast ship with a great many cannon. Its captain was the much-experienced Jens Munk⁶, who had returned from the Veigat Straits fully two years previously. All these seven ships were splendidly equipped, decorated and adorned, and each had its great flag, banners and bunting all around the

¹ In 1648 the *Justitia* is called "old"; she has fifty-two ports, forty-four guns and a crew of 230 men.

² All that is known about Christoffer Boye, outside Jón Ólafsson's pages, is that on April 24, 1622, he was Captain of the *Markatten* cruising in the Baltic. (Lind, p. 222.) The Danish editors very plausibly identify him with the Christoffer Hansen who went to India in 1618 as Master, and returned in the *Elephant* as Jón says, in 1622, after which he is called Captain. (Lind, p. 223. The *Elephant* arrived in Copenhagen on March 30, cp. *Danske Saml.* II, 3, p. 371.)

³ Possibly the Peter Hansen who was appointed Lieutenant in 1640, took part in the war with Sweden, and died on Oct. 29, 1644. (Lind, p. 195.) [R.C.]

⁴ Emendation of Icelandic Editor for *Fides*, which Jón seems to have written twice. However no authority mentions the *Spes* on this voyage. The Bergen fief accounts mention the *Fides* (*Norske Saml.* II, p. 187 note), though Ole Worm's Diary omits her, but Ole Worm mentions the *Raphael*, and probably this name would be the best emendation. The "old" *Black Knight* is mentioned in 1648 as carrying forty guns. (Garde, *op. cit.* p. 147.)

⁵ It was not the *David of Lübeck* but the *Nettle-leaf* (*Nældeblad*).

⁶ For Jens Munk see note 1 to p. 148 *supra*.

gunwale on either side. On the King's own warship were twelve trumpeters; on the two next largest four, and on each of the others three. With the King and on his ship were the three young Princes, the Chancellor, the Statholder and the Danish Council, all save the good old man Gabriel Kruse¹, who was on the *St Anna*. On our ship were forty-eight of the King's guards and his twelve instrumentalists and musicians: each of these two parties had a large cabin on board. I do not remember the number of the crew on each vessel. According to Christian custom, *Corum* or mattins were held every morning, with prayer and a blessing, and likewise evensong at night; and on Wednesdays there was a sermon. When the midday or evening meal was about to be served, there was beating of kettledrums and blowing of trumpets, four at a time. And of such matters let this suffice.

¹ Gabriel Kruse of Tulsted, a noble, became Captain in 1610, fought in the Kalmar War (1611-13), was Admiral of the Elbe fleet, 1627-30, in the war against the Emperor, and died in 1647. It does not seem likely that he can have been so very old in 1622. It is known from other sources that he commanded the *St Anna* on this voyage.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE first evening we proceeded up the Sound with farms on either side and dropped anchor. The King's ship lay furthest forward and then the other ships in their proper and customary order. It so happened that our captain quitted the ship in a small boat, such as is to be found on each vessel, and repaired to the *St Anna* where one of the Council was on board, namely Gabriel Kruse. But when he came back there was a great dispute on our ship between our captain and the King's guards. The captain challenged them to a duel ashore, any who were willing to venture, and the guards in their turn spoke high and were refractory, so that matters looked like manslaying, had not Gabriel Kruse come on board and made peace between them and silenced the King's guards; but he had to promise them six barrels of Rostock ale.

We were three days in this Sound before we got up to Bergen. We had great entertainment from the countryfolk who were all the time on either side, working at their ploughlands or engaged in other necessary occupations. But when we reached the beacon called Back van Ra¹ it was the custom of all vessels and ancient mariners' law that any who had not been there before should be dropped from the mainyard into the sea, unless they delivered themselves by drink-money. When the King got to hear of this, he softened the severity of the sea-law in such fashion that he gave a six-quart vessel of wine to every four men's mess and said that from what he knew of his men, he fancied they would prefer to get wet inside rather than outside. So this sea-punishment was abrogated on that occasion by the generosity of the King.

About half-past one, on a Thursday in August², we came

¹ Jón refers to the little island Bokn, north of Fanefjord, which used to be called Buk van Ra by Dutch and N. German seamen to distinguish it from Buk van See (Bokn off Stavanger). Cp. Yngvar Nielsen, *Reisehaandbog over Norge*, 9th ed. Christiania, 1899, p. 206. [R.C.]

² It seems to have been on July 25, a Monday, that the vessels actually came up to Bergen. According to a Bergen resident (Mikkel Hofnagel) the

up to Bergen town, and nine shots were fired on the King's ship and six on the *St Anna*, and but three on each of the others. From the Castle there was a reply of many guns, and trumpets were sounded on every ship. And when the King proceeded to the shore, the same number of shots were fired and kettledrums beaten. The third time, as the King entered the Castle, all the townsfolk and merchants and householders stood on the Garper's Quay¹ with their weapons and their war-gear, and there was firing in the same style from the ships and the Castle, and trumpeting. All the Norwegian gentlefolk had come thither, both the Chancellor, Jens Bjelke², and the Norwegian Statholder³, together with other noble persons.

The second day thereafter the session began and lasted till the following Tuesday⁴, but what affairs were debated there I do not recall, save two: First, the affair of Master Anders, who had become Bishop of Thronhjelm two years before, and had been parish priest of St Nicholas in Copenhagen⁵, where I first received absolution and the sacrament from him. It

King himself arrived first on a yacht at two o'clock in the morning on July 22. The salutes from the Castle and the block-house roused the inhabitants. (*Norske Samlinger*, II, p. 186.) Jón's statement that the vessels were three days in the Sound makes such an early visit possible, but it is clear that the formal arrival was not till Monday. According to Eske Brock, a member of the Council, the *Black Knight* arrived at 9 a.m. on July 25. (*Danske Saml.* II R., 6 Bd. p. 33.)

¹ Garper, the old Norwegian term for the German Hanseatic merchants who had for long held the entire trade of Bergen in their hands. They are also called *kontorske* or *kontormænd*, from *kontor*, an office.

² Jens Bjelke, see above, p. 55.

³ The Statholder from 1618 to 1629 was Jens Juel (b. 1580, d. 1634), a member of one of the oldest noble families in Denmark.

⁴ According to Eske Brock the session began on July 26 and lasted until Aug. 1, a Monday.

⁵ Anders Arreboe, b. 1587, d. 1637, a poet of some merit, had been made Bishop of Thronhjelm in 1618. The more serious charges against him, urged with much vehemence by the Governor Tage Thott, a personal enemy, seem to have been partly founded on slander, but there appears to be no doubt that the Bishop had been somewhat frivolous at weddings: he "had sung frivolous songs, danced unsuitable dances, beaten a drum at dances, and composed unseemly verses." The verdict seems to have been unduly harsh in view of the customs of the time: it is not till 1638 that the King forbids the clergy to drink healths on their knees, and to dance with a glass in their hands. (N. Jacobsen, in *Dansk Maanedsskr.* 1866, II, pp. 64 ff.) Cp. H. Rørdam, *Arreboes Levnet og Skrifter*, pp. 152 ff.

was an ugly business and turned on the seduction of a woman and was very complicated, and he was on this occasion degraded from his Bishop's state, but worse would have befallen him if several of the nobility who had often heard him preach in Copenhagen, had not pleaded for him. But he was appointed later to a priestly office and living in Norway¹.

The other affair which was debated and decided there was that of Henning Henningsen, who was plaintiff in the case concerning the execution of his father, which I have previously mentioned, who was guiltless. Henning received 1200 florins².

It was decreed that in every house into which we went the people should do us honour and feast us, and this was done. The streets of Bergen are all laid with large cobble-stones from the mountains, and they slope downwards, so that neither water nor dirt can remain on them, but in wet weather it is hard to keep one's footing³. There were at that time four or five churches there, with the cathedral⁴, and on the Sunday we were there, there was much organ playing and other

¹ In 1636 he was appointed minister of Vordingborg (Denmark).

² In the MS. Court records of this session Henning Nielsson claims compensation for the illegal execution of his father, Niels Henningsson, a citizen of Bergen. It seems that Niels Henningsson, having confessed under torture that he had committed a murder in Bergen, was broken on the wheel and quartered in 1618, before any final judgment had been given. (*Norske Rigsregistranter*, IV, pp. 668, 711-12, 739.) The Court records of this session give the suit of Henning Nielsson, the son, against the King's Sheriff (Foged) Peder Due, who seems to have played into the hands of the Borgermester Søren Sørenssen in the matter. Peder Due, however, pleads that Søren, who died between 1620-1, was the responsible party, and the Court decides that Henning cannot hold Peder Due to account. (Bergen, Herredags Dombog in anno 1622, in the Rigsarkiv, Copenhagen, fols. 88 ff.) The sum Jón mentions may have been given by Søren's heirs by way of compromise. Peder Due states in his evidence that Søren had been sorely injured, both in his honour and his pocket, by the said Henning, so that the summary execution might be made to appear by the claimant as an act of vengeance.

³ Jón's difficulty in keeping his footing in the streets of Bergen suggests that the orders for the entertainment of the royal crews were well carried out.

⁴ According to Absalon Pederssøn's "Description of Norway" in about 1570 (*Norske Magasin*, I, p. 851) there were four churches: St Mary's, St Martin's, the Church of the Holy Cross, and the Cathedral. St Jørgen's Church was attached to the Hospital. About six weeks after the King's visit a new church was consecrated. (*Norske Samlinger*, II, p. 187.) In the following year the Cathedral, the New Church, the Church of the Holy Cross, and St Martin's Church were all gutted by fire (*loc. cit.* p. 188).

observances to mark and honour the occasion. The *garper* or German merchants had prepared a three-days festival for the King, but because there was rain every day of the week we were there, the King did not accept their invitation, and instead they presented him with a fine credence-bowl¹ filled with rose nobles.

The second Thursday after our arrival the King proceeded to his ship at the time when all the crews on all the vessels were seated at table, and at the same time kettledrums were beaten, horns and trumpets were blown, and a message was sent by a boat to all the ships, that no man, whatever his rank, was to presume to go on land or fetch anything he might have left there. And immediately the anchors were weighed and the sails hoisted, and from the Garper's Quay eighteen boats were sent to row out the King's ship, twelve for the *St Anna* and nine for each of the others. The King smiled, and said that the loose women in Bergen ought not to be ungrateful to him for the grief they felt that day, which would be a reminder to them of his visit to Bergen².

The *garper* or German merchants had many treasures to show or to sell. Both their boats and rowers were handsomely equipped, and they accompanied us on our way for a sea-mile. And at the end the King had them honourably entertained, and thereupon we parted.

And so we sailed thence³ with a fair wind in the open sea, until we came off Varberg Castle in Halland⁴, when we got a cold breeze against us out of the south-east. Towards the evening the wind veered round to the west, so that it was on the beam for sailing up the Sound, for it blew off the Skaw in

¹ Already in January, 1622, the Bergen merchants had consulted the authorities at Lübeck as to what they were to give the King "according to ancient custom." On his visit in 1599 they gave him two silver-gilt bowls containing the value of 515 dollars in bullion. (Hist. Statist. Notitser, in *Norske Saml.* II, p. 623.)

² Bergen had long been notorious for its immorality, attributed to the fact that the German merchants took an oath not to marry Norwegian women. Cp. N. Nicolaysen, in *Norske Magasin*, I, pp. 555 f. and 599.

³ According to Eske Brock the fleet actually sailed on Aug. 2, though they seem to have left Bergen on Aug. 1, a Monday. (*Norske Saml.* II, p. 186.)

⁴ For Varberg Castle see note 3 to p. 60 *supra*.

Jutland, and from Læssø and Anholt¹. Now the King sailed first and the other ships followed, and we were last, next to *St Anna*, for both those ships were very heavy and large and ill-suited for fast sailing². And before dusk fell we saw a mountain called Bordon rise on the horizon in Skaane³ from which mountain or headland it is four sea-miles to Kronborg. Long ago King Harald hurled Heming Ásláksson down that mountain-side⁴. After that the weather became very rough, and Captain Christoffer Boye wished to take down the top-sail for the night, and leave the mainsail, but the ship's master Peter would not consent to that, and there was dissension between them in consequence⁵. But since authority in the navigation of the vessel pertained rather to the master than to the captain, it had to be as the former wished, that the mainsail should be lowered and the topsail should stand. And when twenty-two men had clambered up on the main-yard to lower away the sail, and as I was standing close to the mainmast, there came a great squall from the west, a loud splitting sound in the mainmast, and a certain Peter Nielsen (who had for seven years been a soldier and had recently become a gunner) gripped me violently, for he was a very strong man, and bade me get out of the way in God's name, because he thought that the mast had split when the squall came, but I thought that impossible. But immediately thereafter there came a great gust, and just where I had been standing the mast broke off and on it all the men who were lying on the yard taking in sail. All went overboard in a flash, the mainmast with its new sail, the topmast, the topgallant mast with two new sails, yard and rigging, and the flagstaff at the main-

¹ Læssø and Anholt, Danish islands in the Kattegat.

² Already on the voyage out it had been necessary to wait for the *St Anna*, cp. Eske Brock's Diary, *Danske Saml.* II R., 6 Bd. p. 32.

³ The context shows that Kullen (on the Swedish coast) is meant; there is no explanation of the word Bordon. [S.B.]

⁴ Jón has confused the story of Harald Hardraade and Heming Ásláksson with the Danish tale of Pálma-Toki's ski-ing down Kullen; cp. Saxo, Grundtvig's ed. 4 Udg. p. 428. [S.B.]

⁵ The naval captains, who were responsible for the ship in battle, were often unacquainted with navigation, and there was therefore a skipper or master on board responsible for the actual handling of the vessel. [S.B.]

top with its gilt knob. We had to cut all this away with sharp axes, so that the timbers might not shatter the gunwale. Of these twenty-two men seven were drowned, of whom five were newly married. They could not be succoured by any means, though some begged sorely for leave to attempt it. The said Peter Nielsen and I tried at the great risk of our lives to rescue a man called Michael, who was jammed by the breaking of the mast, but after we had caught hold of his hands we were obliged to leave go again when the vessel plunged, and he was crushed to death between the mast and the bulwark. If Peter had not seized me, at the instigation of the Holy Spirit, the mast had certainly struck me dead, so that this was one of those many, uncountable miracles wrought by God, which He hath performed during my life in His fatherly love and mercy. May His Name be praised and blessed for evermore. Amen. There was much weeping and running to and fro on board. At last two of the very strongest anchors were dropped and 300 fathoms of cable paid out with each. We were off the most perilous part of the Halland coast. The captain came below to us, and directed us all to go to bed with prayers and invocations to the Lord, and he ordered three men to hold watch, but only in turn. We all thought we were on the very verge of death. Many a one went weeping to his rest. I slept well all through the night, and awaked as the trumpets summoned us to morning prayers, and thanks were given to God that the weather was fair. And after mattins were sung brandy was served out to every man, and we were promised six barrels of the best ale if we put our hearts into weighing the anchors, and if we held our tongues at home about the master's lack of forethought, and the overruling of the captain.

All the other six vessels came back unscathed into the Sound about evening, about the time the curfew bells were ringing in the town [Elsinore]¹. The King at once proceeded to land and lay the night at Kronborg Castle. About midday

¹ According to Eske Brock, the *Black Knight* reached Kronborg at 9 p.m. on Aug. 4. The King was already in Copenhagen on the 7th and was there on the 8th and 9th. (*Danske Saml.* II R., 6 Bd. p. 32.)

we got into the Sound. The King had then left, and was travelling by road to Frederiksborg. And when we came off Copenhagen three cannon were fired on every ship, except on the King's ship, where they fired nine. The next day the Captain repaired to Frederiksborg to see the King and to lay before him the straits into which we had fallen. The King enquired much into the causes of our mischance, and decided that the matter should not be gone into, and so it lapsed and was not legally proceeded with.

CHAPTER XXXII

AFTER this there was no event of importance that autumn, except that a second ship was made ready for the voyage to the Indies, called the *Christianshavn*, and one that was to be sent the following year, called the *Pearl*¹, which was built in Holland, all of fir, and was of 700 lasts². The *Christianshavn* was of 180 lasts. The rudder of the *Pearl*, fresh cut and with as yet no iron upon it, could scarcely be carried by sixty men.

Now I must first tell how Grabow continued his old tricks of harsh dealing, so that we were weary of being under his jurisdiction. There were some young fellows in the service who urged me to run away with them to Sweden, and to take service under the Swedish King, the late Gustavus³, but I prayed to God to keep me from such a crime, so that I might neither come to break my oath, sworn on my hope of salvation, nor part with my honour and reputation, nor yet bring disgrace on my kinsfolk and friends and joy to my enemies. I chose therefore rather to suffer with others whatever might befall. But since this Indian voyage was soon to take place, and as we still had five years before we could leave the service⁴, I began, like several of my companions, to consider whether I would not undertake that voyage, trusting in God's

¹ The *Pearl*, a royal man-of-war, sailed to East India in March 1623 under the command of Henrik "Hoss" (Hess). (Garde, *Efterretninger*, I, p. 96.)

² Last here can hardly mean two tons. Cp. note 2 to p. 157 *supra*.

³ Gustavus Adolphus, or, as he is called in the North, Gustaf II Adolf, b. 1594, killed in battle 1632, came to the throne in 1611. At this time (1622) Gustaf was winning great military renown by his campaign in Livonia: he had already taken Riga in 1621.

⁴ According to an ordinance issued on July 4, 1616, the period of service for sailors and artillerymen, "which has hitherto been very long, indeed sometimes for their whole life," is henceforth to be only five years. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, pp. 481 f.) Jón had already served nearly six (1616-22) and it would seem that he should be able to retire. The wording of the above ordinance, however, suggests that it only applies to conscripted persons.

grace, since I had not been able to do so on the first occasion when vessels had been despatched to the East Indies. And accordingly, confiding in God, I had myself entered for it by the King's admiral at Bremerholm, Sten Villumsen¹. And when I came in he asked me, as he did others, whether I was conversant with the compass, and how long I had served His gracious Majesty. I told him, a bare seven² years, and of my sea voyages. First I gave him a clear account of the compass and of what else he asked me about. Then we set to discussing my monthly wage, which was a slow business, but at the last it was to be twelve gulden a month (they are six dollars of the kind called *quaderante* dollars³) and he promised that it should be raised on the voyage, which however was not done until I came to India, and then only with one gulden, so that I had thirteen gulden a month, which is 240 fish. He said that I profited by my long service, for others were only getting nine or ten gulden. But every gunner who goes to India must be ready for double work, a gunner's and a sailor's⁴, both high and humble toil, and for navigation as well. After my name was written down, the Admiral placed a rixdollar in my hand, as is customary, and bade me keep my word honourably⁵. And before I went out he pledged me out of his jug, and wished me luck on the voyage. And after that the others went in to him, one at a time.

¹ Sten Villumsen, see p. 188 *supra*.

² It was really a bare six—from New Year 1616 to August or September, 1622.

³ It is probable that since the gulden (Icel. *gyllini*) and *quaderante* dollars mentioned by Jón in this passage were not common currency in Denmark and so were unfamiliar to the Icelandic copyists of the MS., some error has been made in the figures. Gulden or dollars of the low value attributed to them here cannot be traced. Christian IV had at one time minted "Hungarian gulden," but in 1622 each of these was worth 1½ rixdollars, so that twelve would be worth 720 fish, instead of 240 as Jón says. Cp. Wilcke, *Chr. IV's Møntpolitik*, pp. 223-4.

⁴ The Regulations for Artillerymen of 1600, § 10, lay down that artillerymen in the Navy must do the work of common sailors when necessary. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, pp. 89 ff.)

⁵ It was evidently very difficult to get men to go to India. In 1621 the King promised an amnesty to all escaped criminals or persons in hiding from the law who would take service on the East India Company's vessels. The only criminals excepted from the amnesty are adulterers, murderers and blasphemers. (Secher, *Forordn.* III, pp. 673 f.)

My good friends reproached me much, but I made as if I did not hear them.

One day as I was standing in the doorway of my lodging, a handsome young man walked down the street and greeted me blithely, and asked me for permission to come inside while he drank a jug of ale, which favour I obtained by prayers to my landlady Christine Svale. And when he had come in and had seated himself, it became clear that this was a very wise man and endowed with prophetic gifts. He told us of many things, past and to come, both concerning my landlady and a wench who was in the room, who had had a child by the man she was to marry, who deserted her secretly one night; and so I also came to feel a desire to test his wisdom, and he told me that I should fall into great peril on that voyage, but that God would deliver me so that I should not lose my life, but nevertheless I should bear the mark of it as long as I lived. That I should be twice married in my own country and have no children by the first wife, but two or three by the second. He said much that was good about me, but also described my faults, each in turn, and said that God kept me safe in His hand, the truth of which I have constantly experienced. He said his name was Frederik, but I thought it was not so. He wished us all well, especially me, for he said he grieved over many mischances that lay before me. Then he left us with the most courteous farewells. Such a man I have never seen before or since. This affair happened two days before our departure from Copenhagen for the Indies.

And now, in this first part of my little book, I have described in the briefest manner how my life was ordered up to this time, and in the second part, though in still more summary fashion, I shall tell of my voyage to the Indies and of the more remarkable things that happened until, by God's grace, I returned to Copenhagen. But first I shall tell of the earlier voyage to the Indies, for which I and my old friend, Jón Halldórsson were entered, and from the which I and others were kept by God's will and the King's solemn warning.

APPENDIX

POPULAR TALES ABOUT JÓN ÓLAFSSON. TAKEN DOWN BY KARL FINNBOGASON FROM THE NARRA- TION OF JÓN JÓNSSON THE BLIND, OF MÝLAUGSSTAÐIR

JÓN ÓLAFSSON was with the Danish King Christian IV. The King once had a battle with the Swedes and Jón and his fellows accompanied him. The upshot of the battle was that the Danes gave way. The Swedes pressed hard and attacked the King. One of them struck at him and the blow came on his ear. The ear had a slice taken off it, but the King was stunned. Jón was standing near and thrust the Swede through. Then he seized the King and brought him to a safer place. He was standing by him until the King got back his senses. After that the King thought more highly of Jón than of other men.

Once the King came for a talk with Jón and spoke in this fashion: "I have sent two ships to India one after another, but they have never come back. It grieves me much, for there is much which might be brought thence which is not easy to get in Europe. I have therefore decided to send a third ship thither, if I can get that man as leader, who could be trusted with the job. I should like to ask you to take the ship, for I know no more likely man than thee in the kingdom for such a great enterprise." Jón welcomed the King's speech and promised to take the leadership. Then they chose the strongest and stoutest fellows in the Danish kingdom for the voyage. They were mostly Norwegians, and there were eleven of them when they started. The voyage went well, and they drank to pass the time. They bored a hole in the bottom of the barrels, and then held up the barrel and drank out of the hole. Jón said afterwards that he had thought it a great disgrace that they were all stronger than he, for they held up the barrel between their hands while they drank without

its touching their breast, whereas Jón had to rest it on his breast. Yet he always won if there was wrestling toward or rough handling. On the way home they touched at the Cape of Good Hope. They lacked something or other, and Jón went ashore to buy it. He said that he had seen the ugliest and most evil-looking men there that he had ever seen in his life. He went into a shop and did his business. There was a great crowd and they mostly had glass-handled knives. He thought that they were so made that the handle might speedily be broken off when the blade had been thrust in, and they seemed to him the most murderous and dangerous weapons. When Jón went out a man with a three-gill bottle in his hand walked with him, chatting pleasantly with him on his way to the ship. But when they were close to the ship this neighbour raised the bottle aloft and struck with it straight across Jón's eyes. Jón fell stunned, but when he got to his feet afterwards, he saw that the fellow lay beside him with a broken neck. "God alone knows who killed him. I fancy I must have done it, because I have an idea that I took hold of him as he raised the bottle against me," said Jón afterwards. After this they held on their homeward course, and came safe and sound to Denmark. And the King received them with joy.

When Jón was over threescore years and ten his way once led him along the Ölfus river, and he spent the night at a farm. In the night the farm caught fire, and everything was in danger. Jón wakened and was soon aware of the cause. He seized his boots¹ and his cloak and trampled down the flames like a berserk; and he was more successful in saving folk and goods out of the fire than other younger men. When all the people had got out, and the farm was nearly gutted, the housewife and Jón were standing near the larder. The roof of the larder fell in as they stood there, and through the dense cloud of smoke and the ruins they caught a glimpse of a huge vat of sour milk—a two-tun cask. The woman said, "Everything is lost in a moment for me and mine. That vat was quite full of excellent sour milk and of the best meat

¹ Cp. note 1, p. 92 *supra*.

that I had¹, and there it goes lost like everything else." It stirred Jón to think that such good food should go to nothing, and moreover he perceived that the woman was much affected by the loss. He swung himself in over the wall, seized the vat with both hands and set it up on the wall, shoulder high: "Take it now, my good fellows, no less stoutly than it is handed to you," he said as he jumped out over the wall and shook the cinders off him.

¹ It is an Icelandic practice to preserve meat by keeping it in vessels full of sour milk or of whey.

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|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Aage | Áki |
| Anders | Andrjes |
| Baltzer | Baltsar |
| Berndt | Benc, Bente, Bernet |
| Bersheba | Bersabe |
| Birgitte | Birgitta |
| Bodil | Bóthildur |
| Boyc | sometimes Bogi |
| Cai | Keye |
| Caspar | Kasper |
| Cecilia | Sesselja |
| Christian | Kristján, Christian |
| Christoffer | Christofer, Christofo, Christophor |
| David | Davíð |
| Elizabeth | Elísabet |
| Frederik | Friderich, sometimes Friðrik |
| Henrik | Hinrik, Henrich |
| Holger | Holgeirr |
| Isaac (Eng.) | Isach |
| Ivar | Ívarr |
| Jacob (Dan.), James (Eng.) | Jakob |
| Johan | Jóhann |
| Joost | Jóst |
| Jørgen or Jürgen | Jurgin |
| Knud | Knútur |
| Mads | Mattheus |
| Malchus | Malcus |
| Marcus | Markús |
| Mette | Metta |
| Michael | sometimes Michel |
| Morten | Marteinn |
| Nicholas | Nicolaus, Nikulás |
| Peter | Pétur |
| Reuben | Rúben |
| Simon (Eng.) | Sæmund |
| Simon (Dan.) | Símon |
| Søren | Søffren (older Dan. form) |
| Sten | Steinn |
| Temperance (Eng.) | Temperenz |
| Ulrik | Uldrich |
| Vincent (Eng.) | Vincentzfus |
| William (Eng.) | Vilhelm, Vilhjam (Dan.), Vilhjálmur |

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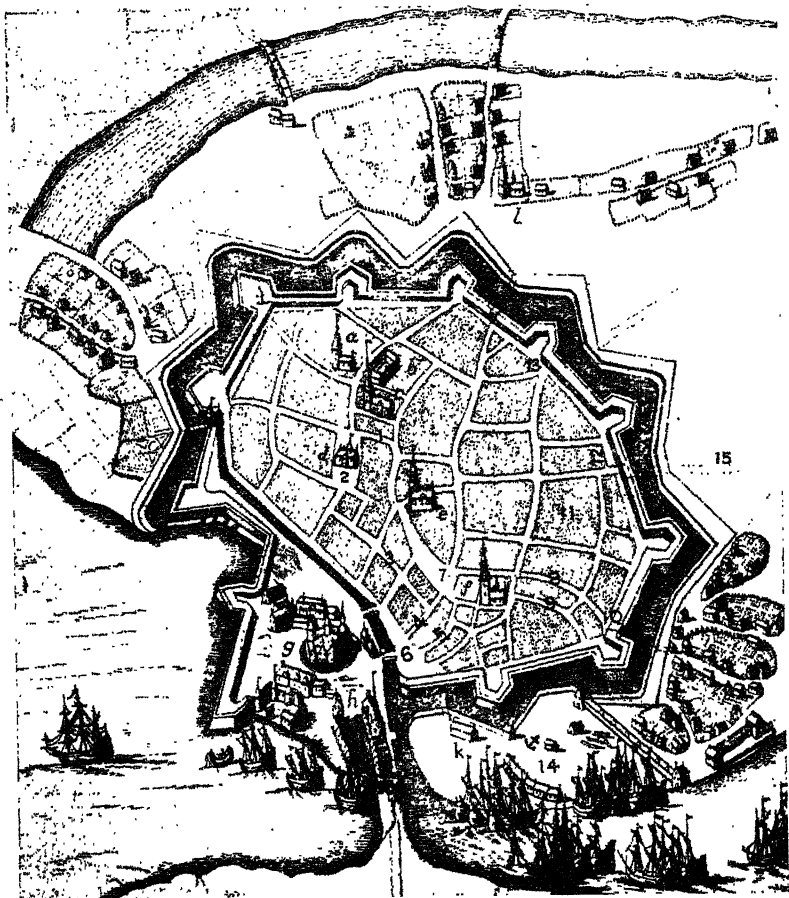
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A.

- 1920 Abbot, Lieut-Col. Fred W., 16, Rue de la Pépinière, Paris (viii^e).
 1899 Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord, 83, Eaton Square, S.W.1.
 1847 Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen.
 1913 Abraham, Lieut. H. C., Topographical Survey Office, Taiping, Perak, Fed. Malay States.
 1895 Adelaide Public Library, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1847 Admiralty, The, Whitehall, S.W.1. [2 COPIES.]
 1847 Advocates' Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
 1847 All Souls College, Oxford.
 1923 Allan, George, Esq., c/o W. F. Stevenson & Co., Ltd., Manila, Philippine Islands.
 1921 Allen, A. C., Esq., 19, Terlingham Gardens, Folkestone.
 1919 Allen, William Henry, Esq., Bromham House, Bromham, near Bedford.
 1847 American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York, U.S.A.
 1901 Andrews, Capt. F., R.N., H.M. Dockyard, Malta.
 1906 Andrews, Michael C., Esq., "Orsett," Derryvolgie Avenue, Belfast.
 1919 Anstey, Miss L. M., 23, Cautley Avenue, Clapham Common, S.W.4.
 1847 Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1909 Armstrong, Col. B. H. O., C.M.G., R.E., 24, Montague Road, Richmond.
 1847 Army and Navy Club, 36, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1919 Arnold, Arthur, Esq., Wickham, Hants.
 1921 Ascherson, Sub-Lieut. S. R., R.N., H.M.S. "Voyager," Devonport.
 1847 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1912 Aylward, R. M., Esq., 7a, Avenida Sur, No. 87, Guatemala.

B.

- 1922 Baggs, Miss Mae Lacy, Bungalow-on-Roof, The Scottwood, Toledo, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1922 Baker, Charles C., Esq., Box 296, Lancaster, California, U.S.A.
 1920 Baker, G. H. Massy, Esq., Kerema, Gulf Division, Papua.
 1909 Baldwin, Rt. Hon. Stanley, Esq., M.P., Astley Hall, nr. Stourport.
 1918 Bannerman, David A., Esq., M.B.E., B.A., British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, S.W.7.
 1893 Barclay, Hugh Gurney, Esq., M.V.O., Colney Hall, Norwich.
 1920 Barclay, W. S., Esq., 16, Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.
 1919 Barrett, V. W., Esq., 1, Raymond Buildings, Gray's Inn, W.C.1.
 1919 Barry, Eugene S., Esq., Ayer, Mass., U.S.A.
 1899 Bassett, M. René, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, Villa Louise, rue Denfert Rochereau, Algiers.
 1921 Bateman, Frederick W., Esq., Westergate, Ealing, W.

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- 1920 Beasley, Harry T., Esq., Haddon Lodge, Shooters Hill, S.E.18.
 1913 Beaumont, Major H., O.B.E., Suez Canal Police, Port Said, Egypt.
 1920 Bedford-Jones, H., Esq., 1448, Upper Second Street, Evansville, Indiana, U.S.A.
 1904 Beetham, Charles Gilbert, Esq., Windmoor Heath, P.O. Carlisle, Co. Cumberland, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Donegall Square North, Belfast.
 1913 Bennett, Ira E., Esq., Editor *Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1914 Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii Island.
 1913 Bewsher, Capt. F. W., D.S.O., M.C., H.Q. Palestine Gendarmerie, Jerusalem.
 1921 Bickerton, F. H., Esq., Castle Malwood, Lyndhurst, Hants.
 1921 Bingham, Capt. A. G., C.I.E., 10, Mount Row, Guernsey.
 1911 Bingham, Professor Hiram, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
 1847 Birmingham Old Library, The, Margaret Street, Birmingham.
 1875 Birmingham Public Libraries (Reference Dept.), Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
 1910 Birmingham University Library.
 1899 Board of Education, The Keeper, Science Library, Science Museum, South Kensington, S.W.7.
 1847 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 1917 Bombay University Library, Bombay.
 1894 Bonaparte, H. I. H. Prince Roland Napoléon, Avenue d'Jéna, 10, Paris.
 1920 Bone, H. Peters, Esq., 5, Hamilton Mansions, King's Gardens, Hove.
 1847 Boston Athenæum Library, 10½, Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1847 Boston Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1912 Bourke, Hubert, Esq., Feltham, Harlow, Essex.
 1899 Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.
 1894 Bower, Major-General Sir Hamilton, K.C.B., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W.1.
 1912 Boyd-Richardson, Commander S. B., R.N., Highfield Paddock, Niton-Undercliff, Isle of Wight.
 1920 Brewster, A. B., Esq., Edengrove, Chelston, Torquay.
 1919 Brickwood, Sir John, Portsmouth.
 1893 Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion, Church Street, Brighton.
 1890 British Guiana Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, Georgetown, Demerara.
 1847 British Museum, Department of Ceramics and Ethnography
 1847 British Museum, Department of Printed Books.
 1896 Brock, Henry G., Esq., 1612, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1920 Brook-Fox, Evelyn, Esq., Tokerwadi, P.O., Poona District, India.
 1899 Brookline Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1899 Brooklyn Mercantile Library, 197, Montague Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1922 Brown, A. S., Esq., 52, New Road, Edmonton, N.9.
 1899 Brown, Arthur William Whateley, Esq., Sharvells, Milford-on-Sea, Hants.
 1920 Brown, Dr. C. J. Macmillan, Holmbank, Cashmere Hills, Christchurch, N.Z.
 1922 Brown and Lawrence, Messrs., 52, New Road, Edmonton, N.9.
 1916 Browne, Prof. Edward G., M.A., M.B., Firwood, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

- 1920 Browne, Lieut.-Comdr. R. R. Gore, 3, Grand Parade, Portsmouth.
 1921 Bryant, George Clarke, Esq., Ansonia, Conn., U.S.A.
 1921 Burgoyne, Cuthbert, Esq., Malincourt, Oxshott, Surrey.
 1920 Busby, Alex., Esq., Martins Heron, Bracknell, Berks.
 1920 Butler, G. Grey, Esq., Ewart Park, Wooler, Northumberland.
 1921 Byatt, Sir Horace A., K.C.M.G., Government House, Dar-es-Salaam,
 E. Africa.
 1914 Byers, Gerald, Esq., c/o Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai.

C.

- 1913 Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, R.N., Hatherop Castle, Fairford,
 Gloucestershire.
 1921 Calcutta, Presidency College Library.
 1903 California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
 1847 Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
 1847 Canada, The Parliament Library, Ottawa.
 1896 Cardiff Public Library, Trinity Street, Cardiff.
 1920 Cardinall, A. W., Esq., Springfield, The Weald, nr. Sevenoaks.
 1847 Carlton Club Library, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1899 Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
 1920 Carton, Alfred T., Esq., 76, W. Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.,
 U.S.A.
 1914 Casserly, John Bernard, Esq., The Pacific Union Club, Corner
 Mason and California Streets, San Francisco, California, U.S.A.
 1920 Cathro, E. A., Esq., Longforgan, Dundee, N.B.
 1910 Cattarns, Richard, Esq., Great Somerford, Wilts.
 1847 Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester.
 1910 Chicago, Geographic Society of, P.O. Box 474, Chicago.
 1899 Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Chicago University Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1896 Christ Church, Oxford.
 1847 Christiania University Library, Christiania, Norway.
 1899 Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1913 Clark, James Cooper, Esq., c/o Bank of Montreal, Threadneedle
 Street, E.C.2.
 1913 Clarke, Sir Rupert, Bart., Clarke Buildings, Bourke Street, Melbourne.
 1922 Cleaves, Charles E., Esq., Heddfan, Sketty, Swansea.
 1917 Clements, R. V., Esq., 3, Western Hill, Durham.
 1913 Coates, O. R., Esq., H.B.M. Consul, Tengyueh, W. China.
 1919 Coleman, H., Esq., 9, Cambridge Gate, N.W.1.
 1847 Colonial Office, The, Downing Street, S.W.1.
 1899 Columbia University, Library of, New York, U.S.A.
 1918 Commonwealth Parliament Library, Melbourne.
 1923 Conkling, Roscoe P., Esq., Catskill, New York, U.S.A.
 1920 Converse Memorial Library, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.,
 U.S.A.
 1921 Conway, G. R. G., Esq., Light and Power Co., Ltd., Apartado 124
 Bis, Mexico City.
 1896 Conway, Sir William Martin, M.P., Allington Castle, Maidstone,
 Kent.
 1921 Coode, Major Henry P. R., Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.1.
 1903 Cooke, William Charles, Esq., Vailima, Bishopstown, Cork.
 1922 Coombe, W., Esq., Messrs. Carson & Co., Ltd., Colombo, Ceylon.
 1919 Copenhagen University Library, Copenhagen.
 1919 Cordier, Prof. Henri, 8 rue de Siam, Paris, xvi^e.
 1847 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.

- 1903 Corney, Bolton Glanvill, Esq., I.S.O., Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W.7.
 1899 Corning, C. R., Esq., 36, Wall Street, New York.
 1920 Cox, Major-Gen. Sir Percy Z., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., c/o Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, Mesopotamia.
 1919 Cozens, J. W., Esq., 189, Queen's Gate, S.W.7.
 1920 Crandon, Dr. L. R. G., 366, Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1919 Crawshay, Edwin Holc, Esq., Fernherst, The Park, Cheltenham.
 1904 Croydon Public Libraries, Central Library, Town Hall, Croydon.
 1893 Curzon of Kedleston, The Right Hon. the Marquess, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.1.

D.

- 1913 Dalglish, Percy, Esq., Guatemala, C.A.
 1917 Damer-Powell, Lieut. J. W., D.S.C., R.N.R., "Merton," Southside, Weston-super-Mare.
 1847 Danish Royal Navy Library (Marinens Bibliothek), Grønningen, Copenhagen, K.
 1912 Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
 1908 Darwin, Major Leonard, late R.E.
 1921 Davis, J., Esq., Edith Villa, Crayford, Kent.
 1920 Dawson, Rev. J. C., M.A., Asterby Rectory, Louth, Lincs.
 1920 Dealy, T. K., Esq., 19, rue Voltaire, au 2me, Grenoble, Isère, France.
 1920 Dearing, F. Morris, Esq., American International Corp'n., 120, Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
 1911 Delbanco, D., Esq., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.3.
 1919 Derby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., c/o Major M. H. Milner, Knowsley, Prescott.
 1899 Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A.
 1919 Digby, Bassett, Esq., c/o S. Johnson, Esq., National Provincial Bank House, Gorleston-on-Sea, Suffolk.
 1893 Dijon University Library, Rue Monge, Dijon, Côte d'Or, France.
 1918 Dominion Museum, The, Wellington, New Zealand.
 1919 Douglas, Capt. H. P., C.M.G., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
 1920 Douglas, W. Bruce, Esq., Messrs. W. H. & F. J. Horniman & Co., Ltd., 27 to 33, Wormwood Street, E.C.2.
 1919 Dracopolis, I. N., Esq., Oak Hall, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
 1919 Dracopolis, Mrs. K. N., Oak Hall, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
 1902 Dublin, Trinity College Library.
 1921 Dunn, William, Esq., "Holmleigh," Stonegate Road, Leicester.
 1917 Durban Municipal Library, Natal (Mr. George Reyburn, Librarian).

E.

- 1913 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.
 1921 École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, Indo-Chine.
 1905 Edge-Partington, J., Esq., Wyngates, Burke's Rd., Beaconsfield.
 1919 Edgell, Commander I. A., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
 1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.

- 1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
- 1920 Edwardes, H. S. W., Esq., Godshill, Fordingbridge, Hants.
- 1847 Edwards, Francis, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.
- 1920 Elger, L. C., Esq., c/o Queen's House, Kingsway, W.C.2.
- 1913 Eliot, The Rt. Hon. Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., British Embassy, Tokio, Japan.
- 1922 Emerson, Miss Gertrude, 627, Lexington Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1919 English, Ernest E., Esq., c/o The Eastern Telegraph Co., Gibraltar.
- 1906 Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
- 1917 Essex Institute, The, Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
- 1917 Evans, J. Fred, Esq., 65, I Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
- 1922 Eveland, A. J., Esq., The Engineers' Club, 32, West 40th Street, New York City.

F.

- 1910 Fairbrother, Colonel W. T., C.B., Indian Army, Barcilly, N.P., India.
- 1922 Fairweather, W. Cranston, Esq., 62, Saint Vincent Street, Glasgow.
- 1899 Fellows Athenæum, 46, Millmont Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1920 Fenton, A. H., Esq., 10, Vineyard Hill, Wimbledon.
- 1920 Ferguson, Henry G., Esq., 2330, California Street, Washington, D.C.
- 1919 Fisher, Gordon, Esq., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.1.
- 1896 Fitzgerald, Major Edward Arthur, 5th Dragoon Guards.
- 1914 FitzGibbon, F. J., Esq., c/o The Anglo-South American Bank, Old Broad Street, E.C.2.
- 1893 Forrest, Sir George William, C.I.E., Rose Bank, Iffley, Oxford.
- 1902 Foster, Francis Apthorp, Esq., Edgartown, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1893 Foster, William, Esq., C.I.E., India Office, S.W.1.
- 1921 Freeman, George B., Esq., c/o D. R. Heaton, Esq., Blackfriars House, Plymouth.
- 1920 Frere, Major A. G., c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Bombay.
- 1920 Freshfield, Douglas W., Esq., D.C.L., Wyeh Cross Place, Forest Row, Sussex.

G.

- 1913 Gardner, Harry G., Esq., Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Penang.
- 1919 Gardner, Stephen, Esq., 662, West 12th Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1920 Gauntlett, R. M., Esq., 55, Penderley Road, Catford, S.E.6.
- 1847 George, Charles William, Esq., 51, Hampton Road, Bristol.
- 1920 Gibraltar Garrison Library.
- 1920 Gibson, Sir Herbert, K.B.E., Estancia Bella Vista, Cachari F.C.S., Buenos Aires.
- 1920 Gilbert, W. L., Esq., 267, Calle 25 de Mayo, Buenos Aires.
- 1901 Gill, William Harrison, Esq., Marunouchi, Tokyo.
- 1847 Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
- 1913 Glyn, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice, Albury Hall, Much Hadham.
- 1919 Goss, Lieut. C. Richard, 2, Colherne Court, Earl's Court, S.W.5.
- 1920 Goss, Mrs. George A., 30, Church Street, Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A.
- 1919 Gosse, Philip, Esq., 25, Argyll Road, Kensington, W.8.
- 1920 Gostling, A. E. A., Esq., c/o Messrs. Scott & Hume, Maipu 73, Buenos Aires.
- 1847 Göttingen University Library, Göttingen, Germany.

- 1877 Gray, Sir Albert, K.C.B., K.C. (*President*), Catharine Lodge, Trafalgar Square, Chelsea, S.W.3.
 1903 Greenlee, William B., Esq., 855, Buena Av., Chicago, Ill. U.S.A.
 1920 Grievé, T., Esq., Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.
 1899 Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1847 Guildhall Library, E.C.2.
 1887 Guillemaud, Francis Henry Hill, Esq., M.A., M.D., The Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge.
 1920 Gwyther, Capt. H. J., Hall Croft, Dufton, nr. Appleby, Westmoreland.

H.

- 1910 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Mich. U.S.A.
 1922 Haig, Lieut.-Col. Sir T. Wolseley, K.C.I.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1919 Haigh, Ernest V., Esq., C.B.E., Royal Thames Yacht Club, 80, Piccadilly, London, W.1.
 1847 Hamburg Commerz-Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany.
 1922 Hamilton, Sir Robert W., Ford Lodge, Wiveliscombe, Somerset.
 1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Carnegie (Central) Library, Hammersmith, W.6.
 1898 Hannen, The Hon. Henry Arthur, The Hall, West Farleigh, Kent.
 1916 Harrington, S. T., Esq., M.A., Methodist College, St. John's, Newfoundland.
 1906 Harrison, Carter H., Esq., 311, The Rockery, Chicago.
 1918 Harrison, Comdr. R., D.S.O., R.N.R., Camera Club, 17, John Street, Adelphi, W.2.
 1919 Harrison, T. St. C., Esq., Central Secretariat, Lagos, Nigeria.
 1905 Harrison, Wm. Preston, Esq., 2400, South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
 1920 Hart-Synnot, Brig.-Gen. A. H. S., C.M.G., D.S.O., Ballymoyer, White Cross, co. Armagh.
 1847 Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 1921 Hatcher, Harry T., Esq., 33, West 42nd Street, New York City.
 1920 Hawkes, W. Blackburne, Esq., Rawang, Selangor, Federated Malay States.
 1913 Hay, E. Alan, Esq., Bengoe House, Hertford.
 1919 Hay, G. Goldthorp, Esq., 18, Stonebridge Park, Willesden, N.W.10.
 1887 Heawood, Edward, Esq., M.A., Church Hill, Merstham, Surrey (*Treasurer*).
 1920 Hedley, Theodore F., Esq., 26, Beechwood Avenue, Darlington.
 1921 Hemingway, Mrs. B. M., 26, Elgin Park, Bristol.
 1904 Henderson, George, Esq., 13, Palace Court, W.2.
 1915 Henderson, Capt. R. Ronald, Little Compton Manor, Moreton-in-Marsh.
 1922 Hendry, C. A., Esq., C.T.A. Buildings, 69, St. George's Terrace, Perth, West Australia.
 1921 Hill, Donald G., Esq., Saginaw Lake, Pender Harbour, Vancouver, B.C.
 1920 Hill, H. Brian C., Esq., c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta.
 1917 Hinks, Arthur Robert, Esq., C.B.E., F.R.S., Sec. R.G.S., 1, Percy Villas, Campden Hill, W.8.
 1874 Hippisley, Alfred Edward, Esq., 8, Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, S.W.1.
 1921 Hirst, Maurice H., Esq., Elmdon Road, Marston Green, Warwickshire.

- 1920 Hobden, Ernest, Esq., c/o The Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Co., Ltd., Singapore, Straits Settlements.
 1922 Holstein, Major Otto, Casilla 153, Trujillo, Peru, S. America.
 1913 Hong Kong University, c/o Messrs. Longinans & Co., 38, Paternoster Row, E.C.4.
 1899 Hoover, Herbert Clark, Esq., 1, London Wall Buildings, E.C.2.
 1921 Hopkins, Major R. B., O.B.E., Eldama Ravine, Kenya Colony.
 1887 Horner, Sir John Francis Fortescue, K.C.V.O., Mells Park, Frome, Somerset.
 1911 Hoskins, G. H., Esq., c/o G. & C. Hoskins, Wattle Street, Ultimo, Sydney, N.S.W.
 1915 Howland, S. S., Esq., Union Club, 1, East 51st Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1890 Hoyt Public Library, East Saginaw, Mich., U.S.A.
 1899 Hügel, Baron Anatole A. A. von, Curator, Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
 1922 Hughes, T. E., Esq., Mlombozi, Ntondwe, Zomba, P.O., Nyasaland.
 1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull.
 1913 Humphreys, John, Esq., 69, Harborne Road, Edgbaston.
 1920 Hutton, J. H., Esq., Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.
 1915 Hyde, Sir Charles, Bart., 2, Woodbourne Road, Edgbaston.
 1920 Hyderabad, The Nizam's Government State Library.

I.

- 1912 Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Im Thurn, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., Cockenzie House, Preston Pans, East Lothian.
 1847 India Office, St. James's Park, S.W.1. [9 COPIES.]
 1899 Ingle, William Bruncker, Esq., 10, Pond Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.
 1922 Ingram, Capt. W. H., Chake Chake, Zanzibar Protectorate.
 1919 Inman, Arthur C., Esq., Garrison Hall, Garrison Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1892 Inner Temple, Hon. Society of the, Temple, E.C.4.
 1916 Ireland, National Library of, Dublin.
 1922 Irish, H. J. H., Esq., 43, Pall Mall, S.W.1.

J.

- 1920 Jackson, Richard H., Esq., Wellington Lodge, Oldham.
 1899 Jackson, Stewart Douglas, Esq., 73, West George Street, Glasgow.
 1898 James, Arthur Curtiss, Esq., 39, East 69th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1920 Jeffery, Charles T., Esq., P.O. Box 2838, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1922 Jeffreys, M. D. W., Esq., P.O. Box 105, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.
 1847 John Carter Brown Library, 357, Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
 1847 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
 1847 Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1910 Jones, L. C., Esq., M.D., Falmouth, Mass., U.S.A.
 1922 Jones, Comdr. C. Harold, D.S.O., R.N., 32, Avonmore Road, London, W.14.
 1919 Jourdain, Lieut.-Col. H. F. N., C.M.G., Fyfield Lodge, Fyfield Road, Oxford.
 1919 Joyce, Capt. T. Athol, British Museum, W.C.1.
 1922 Jupp, W. D., Esq., China Borneo Co., Sandakan, B.N. Borneo.

K.

- 1903 Kansas University Library, Lawrence, Kans., U.S.A.
 1917 Kay, Richard, Esq.
 1887 Keltie, Sir John Scott, LL.D., 39, Harvard Court, Honeybourne Road, N.W.6. (*Vice-President*).
 1909 Kesteven, Sir Charles H., 22, Theatre Road, Calcutta.
 1898 Kinder, Claude William, Esq., C.M.G., "Bracken," Churt, near Farnham, Surrey.
 1890 King's Inns, The Hon. Society of the, Henrietta Street, Dublin.
 1920 Kirkpatrick, Lieut.-Colonel A. R. Y., C.M.G., D.S.O., Kilternan Lodge, Kilternan, Co. Dublin.
 1899 Kitching, John, Esq., Oaklands, Queen's Road, Kingston Hill, S.W.15.
 1921 Klein, Walter G., Esq., 24, Belsize Park, N.W.3.
 1912 Koebel, W. H., Esq., Author's Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
 1913 Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam.
 1910 Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie. The Hague.
 1922 Kuala Lumpur Book Club, Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.

L.

- 1922 Laithwaite, J. G., Esq., India Office, S.W.1.
 1899 Langton, J. J. P., Esq., 2397, Grand Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
 1899 Larchmont Yacht Club, Larchmont, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1913 Laufer, Berthold, Esq., Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
 1920 Laycock, Major T. S., M.C., 88, Dunvegan Road, S.E.9.
 1919 Leeds Central Public Library, Leeds.
 1899 Leeds Library, 18, Commercial Street, Leeds.
 1899 Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
 1918 Le Hunte, Sir George R., G.C.M.G., Sandridge, Crowborough, Sussex.
 1893 Leipzig, Library of the University of Leipzig.
 1912 Leland Stanford Junior University, Library of, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
 1918 Lethbridge, Alan B., Esq., Wellington Club, Grosvenor Place, S.W.1.
 1912 Lind, Walter, Esq., Finca Helvetia, Retalhuleu, Guatemala, C.A.
 1847 Liverpool Free Public Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool.
 1899 Liverpool, University of Liverpool.
 1921 Loch, E. R. A., Esq., Heather Cottage, Tadworth, Surrey.
 1911 Loder, Gerald W. E., Esq., F.S.A., Wakehurst Place, Ardingly, Sussex.
 1920 Logie, W. J., Esq., 90, Graham's Road, Falkirk.
 1847 London Library, 14, St. James's Square, S.W.1.
 1899 London University, South Kensington, S.W.7.
 1920 Long, Arthur Tilney, Esq., C.B.E., Office of the Union Agent, Laureço Marques, S. Africa.
 1895 Long Island Historical Society, Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1899 Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
 1921 Lowenstein, S. M., Esq., 23, Down Street, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1899 Lowrey, Sir Joseph, K.B.E., The Hermitage, Loughton, Essex.
 1912 Luard, Colonel Charles Eckford, M.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Bombay, India.
 1880 Lucas, Sir Charles Prestwood, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., 65, St. George's Square, S.W.1.
 1895 Lucas, Frederic Wm., Esq., 21, Surrey Street, Strand, W.C.2.
 1912 Luke, H. C., Esq., M.A., St. James's Club, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1922 Lund, K. Universitets-Biblioteket, Lund, Sweden.

- 1898 Lydenberg, H. M., Esq., New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue
and Forty-second Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1880 Lyons University Library, Lyon, France.
1920 Lytton Library, The, M.A.O. College, Aligarh, India.

M.

- 1923 McCarthy, G. E., Esq., Clifton, Fermoy, Co. Cork.
1920 McDonald, Allan M., Esq., 87, Calle Maipu, Buenos Aires.
1922 McGegan, J. E., Esq., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.I.
1922 McLean, C. M., Esq., 3, Chestnut Street, Binghamton, New York,
U.S.A.
1908 Maggs Brothers, Messrs., 34, Conduit Street, W.I.
1920 Makins, Capt. A. D., D.F.C., 143, Richmond Road, Twickenham,
S.W.
1847 Manchester Public Free Libraries, Piccadilly, Manchester.
1916 Manchester University.
1899 Manierre, George, Esq., Room 416, 112, Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.,
U.S.A.
1921 Manitoba, University Library, Kennedy Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
1919 Mardon, Ernest G., Esq., Sneyd Park House, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
1892 Marquand, Henry, Esq., Whitegates Farm, Bedford, New York,
U.S.A.
1919 Marsden, W., Esq., 7, Heathfield Place, Halifax, Yorks.
1919 Marsh-Edwards, J. C., Esq., Church Hatch, Ringwood, Hants.
1847 Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154, Boylston Street, Boston,
Mass., U.S.A.
1905 Maudslay, Alfred Percival, Esq., D.Sc., Morney Cross, Hereford.
1919 Maxwell, Lieut.-Commander, P. S. E., R.N., c/o Hydrographic
Department, Admiralty, S.W.I.
1919 Mayers, Sidney F., Esq., British and Chinese Corporation, Peking,
N. China.
1914 Means, Philip Ainsworth, Esq., 64, Vera Cruz, Lima, Peru.
1922 Melbourne University, Central Library, Melbourne, Victoria, Aus-
tralia.
1913 Mensing, A. W. M., Esq. (Frederik Muller and Co.), Amsterdam.
1901 Merriman, J. A., Esq., c/o Standard Bank, Cape Town, S. Africa.
1920 Merriman, Lieut.-Comdr. Reginald D., R.I.M., c/o Government
Dockyard, Bombay.
1911 Messer, Allan E., Esq., 2, Wyndham House, Sloane Gardens, S.W.I.
1893 Michigan, University of, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
1899 Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan University Library, U.S.A.
1920 Miller, H. Eric, Esq., 1-4, Great Tower Street, London, E.C.4.
1847 Mills, Colonel Dudley Acland, R.E., Drokes, Beaulieu, Hants.
1921 Milne, George, Esq., Craigillie, Lonmay, Aberdeenshire.
1912 Milward, Graham, Esq., 77, Colmore Row, Birmingham.
1896 Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
1895 Minneapolis Athenæum, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
1899 Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.
1899 Mitchell Library, 21, Miller Street, Glasgow.
1899 Mitchell, Wm., Esq., 14, Forbesfield Road, Aberdeen.
1902 Mombasa Club Library, Mombasa.
1899 Monson, The Right Hon. Lord, C.V.O., Burton Hall, Lincoln.
1919 Montagnier, Henry F., Esq., Chalet Beau Reveil, Champéry, Salais,
Switzerland.
1918 Moore-Bennett, Arthur J., Esq., Peking, China.
1921 Moore, Thomas, H., Esq., Billown, Castletown, Isle of Man.
1918 Moreland, W. Harrison, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., Bengoe Old Vicarage,
Hertford.

- 1919 Morrell, G. F., Esq., Avenue House, Holly Park, Crouch Hill, N.
 1920 Morris, D. Llewellyn, Esq., c/o E. K. Green & Co., Ltd., P.O. Box
 1192, Cape Town.
 1893 Morris, Henry Cecil Low, Esq., M.D., The Steyne, Bognor, Sussex.
 1899 Morrisson, James W., Esq., 540, W. Randolph Street, Chicago,
 Ill., U.S.A.
 1919 Morse, Hosea Ballou, Esq., Arden, Camberley, Surrey.
 1895 Moxon, Alfred Edward, Esq., Poste Restante, Lausanne, Switzerland.
 1920 Muller, W. J., Esq., Kuantan, Pahang, Federated Malay States.
 1920 Munns, John Willoughby, Esq., Kent End House, 59, London Road,
 Forest Hill, S.E.23.

N.

- 1913 Natal Society's Library, Pietermaritzburg, S. Africa.
 1899 Nathan, Lt.-Col. Right Hon. Sir Matthew, G.C.M.G., R.E., Govern-
 ment House, Brisbane, Queensland.
 1920 National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1894 Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1922 Naval Attaché, The (Capt. K. T. Sluys), Netherland Legation, 42,
 Seymour Street, W.1.
 1920 Navy League, The Wellington Branch of The, Ballance Street,
 Wellington, New Zealand.
 1909 Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A.
 1913 Needham, J. E., Esq., Southbourne, Totland Bay, I. of W.
 1880 Netherlands, Royal Geographical Society of the (Koninklijk Neder-
 landsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap), Saxen-Weimarlaan 28,
 Amsterdam.
 1899 Netherlands, Royal Library of the, The Hague.
 1847 Newberry Library, The, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1847 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society, Westgate
 Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 1899 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Library, New Bridge Street, Newcastle-
 on-Tyne.
 1920 Newport Public Libraries, Dock Street, Newport, Mon.
 1899 New South Wales, Public Library of, Sydney, N.S.W.
 1922 Newton, Prof. A. P., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
 1899 New York Athletic Club, Central Park, South, New York City,
 U.S.A.
 1895 New York Public Library, 40, Lafayette Place, New York City,
 U.S.A.
 1847 New York State Library, Albany, New York, U.S.A.
 1921 New York University Library, University Heights, New York City,
 U.S.A.
 1894 New York Yacht Club, 37 West 44 Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1897 New Zealand, The High Commissioner for, 13, Victoria Street,
 S.W.1.
 1922 Nicholson, Godfrey, Esq., Christ Church, Oxford.
 1917 Nicoll, Lieut. C. L. J., Royal Indian Marine, c/o Director R.I.M.,
 Bombay.
 1911 Nijhoff, Martinus, The Hague, Holland.
 1922 Niven, C. Rex, Esq., M.C., St. Peter's Rectory, Dorchester, Dorset.
 1920 Noll, Maurice G., Esq., Homeleigh, Mt. Hermon Road, Woking,
 Surrey.
 1896 North Adams Public Library (c/o Miss A. B. Jackson), Massachusetts
 U.S.A.
 1893 Northcliffe, The Right Hon. Lord, Elmwood, St. Peter's, Thanet.
 1917 Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.
 1899 Nottingham Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.

O.

- 1922 O'Connor, J. R., Esq., Port Supt., Livingston, c/o The United Fruit Co., Belize, British Honduras.
 1919 Olsen, O. Grolle, Esq., Post Box 225, Bergen, Norway.
 1890 Oriental Club, 18, Hanover Square, W.1.
 1919 Oriental Studies, School of, 11, Finsbury Circus, E.C.2.
 1919 Oury, Libert, Esq., 3, Thames House, Queen Street Place, E.C.4.
 1899 Oxford and Cambridge Club, 71, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1847 Oxford Union Society, Oxford.

P.

- 1911 Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1847 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rue de Richelieu, Paris.
 1847 Paris, Institut de France, Quai de Conti 23, Paris.
 1880 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1893 Peck, Sir Wilfred, Bart., c/o Mr. Grover, Rousdon, Lymc Regis.
 1904 Peirce, Harold, Esq., 222, Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1920 Pennington, The Venerable Archdeacon G. E., The Vicarage, Greytown, Natal, S. Africa.
 1920 Pennsylvania University Library, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1911 Penrose, R. A. F., Esq., Bullitt Buildings, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
 1919 Penzer, N. M., Esq., 12, Clifton Hill, St. John's Wood, N.W.8.
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 1920 Perry, Frederick A., Esq., c/o British American Tobacco Co. (China), Ltd., Hongkong, China.
 1920 Peters, Sir Byron, K.B.E., Windlesham Moor, Windlesham, Surrey.
 1913 Petersen, V., Esq., Chinese Telegraph Administration, Peking, China.
 1895 Philadelphia Free Library, 13th and Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Philadelphia, Library Company of, N.W. corner Juniper & Locust Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1918 Philipps, Capt. J. E. T., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1918 Philpott, R. H., Esq., Mutarakwa, Solik, Kenya Colony.
 1919 Pitt, Colonel William, C.M.G., Fairseat House, Wrotham, Kent.
 1920 Plummer, G. S., Esq., c/o The British Borneo Timber Co., Ltd., Sandakan, B.N. Borneo.
 1921 Plymouth Command Naval Officers' Library, R.N. Port Library, Devonport.
 1920 Plymouth Public Library, Plymouth.
 1920 Poliakoff, V., Esq., 49, Queen's Gate Gardens, Kensington, S.W.7.
 1920 Poole, Major F. G., D.S.O., c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1918 Pope, Charles A., Esq., Casilla 659, Buenos Aires.
 1899 Portico Library, 57, Mosley Street, Manchester.
 1919 Potter, J. Wilson, Esq., Enton Mill, nr. Godalming, Surrey.
 1923 Potts, Norman, Esq., P.O. Box 18, Opotiki, New Zealand.
 1916 Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
 1912 Provincial Library of British Columbia, Victoria, British Columbia.

Q.

- 1894 Quaritch, Bernard, Esq., 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, W.1.
 [12 COPIES].
 1913 Queen's University, The, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.
 1920 Quigley, Richard, Esq., c/o Borax Consolidated, Ltd., Casilla 12 y 13, Antofagasta, Chile.
 1913 Quincey, Edmund de Q., Esq., Oakwood, Chislehurst.

R.

- 1890 Raffles Museum and Library, Singapore.
 1920 Rand Club, Johannesburg, South Africa.
 1920 Rawnsley, Mrs. Walter, Well Vale, Alford, Lincs.
 1914 Rawson, Lieut. G., Royal Indian Marine, Bombay.
 1922 Rees, T. Ifor, Esq., British Consulate, Managua, Nicaragua.
 1847 Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1922 Reyne, Commander F. A., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
 1920 Rhodes, Miss Alice G., The Elms, Lytham, Lancs.
 1920 Richards, F. J., Esq., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Binny & Co., Madras, S. India.
 1907 Ricketts, D. P., Esq., Imperial Chinese Railways, Tientsin, China.
 1915 Riggs, E. Francis, Esq., 1617, Eye Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1919 Rio de Janeiro, Bibliotheca Nacional do, Rio de Janeiro.
 1921 Roberts, Capt. J. Hubert, R.E., 61, Wind Street, Swansea.
 1917 Robertson, Wheatley B., Esq., Gledswood, East Liss, Hants.
 1920 Robieson, W. D., Esq., 93, Millbrae Road, Langside, Glasgow.
 1917 Rodger, A., Esq., F.L.S., Rossendale, Maymyo, Burma.
 1920 Rose, H. A., Esq., Milton House, La Haule, Jersey, Channel Islands.
 1906 Rotterdamsch Leeskabinet, Rotterdam.
 1917 Rouse, W. H. D., Esq., Litt.D., Perse School House, Glebe Road, Cambridge.
 1917 Routledge, W. S., Esq., 9, Cadogan Mansions, Sloane Square, S.W.1.
 1911 Royal Anthropological Institute, 50, Great Russell Street, W.C.1.
 1921 Royal Asiatic Society, 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W.1.
 1847 Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.
 1896 Royal Cruising Club, 1, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.1.
 1847 Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham.
 1847 Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W.7.
 1890 Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.
 1897 Royal Societies Club, 63, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
 1847 Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W.1.
 1899 Runciman, The Right Hon. Walter, M.P., Doxford, Chathill, Northumberland.
 1900 Ryley, John Horton, Esq., 8, Rue d'Auteuil, Paris.

S.

- 1899 St. Andrews University, St. Andrews.
 1899 St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, Flintshire, N. Wales.
 1890 St. Louis Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
 1911 Saise, Walter, Esq., D.Sc., M.Inst.C.E., Stapleton, Bristol.
 1913 Salby, George, Esq., 65, Great Russell Street, W.C.1. [2 COPIES.]
 1915 San Antonio, Scientific Society of, 1 and 3, Stevens Buildings, San Antonio, Texas, U.S.A.
 1920 Sanders, Bernard H., Esq., Itabira de Matto Dentro, Minas Geracs, Brazil.
 1899 San Francisco Public Library, Civic Centre, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.
 1921 Savory, Capt. R. A., M.C., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1920 Scholefield, Dr. Guy Hardy, O.B.E., Pownall Street, Masterton, New Zealand.
 1919 Schwabe, A. J., Esq., 11, Place Royale, Pau, B.-P., France.
 1899 Selater, Dr. William Lutley, 10, Sloane Court, S.W.1.

- 1920 Seager, Richard B., Esq., c/o Baring Bros. & Co., 8, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.
- 1899 Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
- 1906 Seligman, C. G., Esq., Court Leye, Toot Baldon, Oxford.
- 1919 Selinger, Oscar, Esq., Ivy Lodge, Lordship Park, N.16.
- 1894 Seymour, Admiral of the Fleet the Right Hon. Sir Edward Hobart, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., LL.D., Hedsor View, Maidenhead. (*Vice-President*.)
- 1920 Sharman, J. D., Esq., Public Works Dept., Victoriaborg, Accra, Gold Coast.
- 1898 Sheffield Free Public Libraries, Surrey Street, Sheffield.
- 1914 Sheppard, S. T., Esq., Byculla Club, Bombay, No. 8.
- 1920 Sheppard, T. Clive, Esq., Correo Casilla 844, La Paz, Bolivia.
- 1847 Signet Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
- 1890 Sinclair, Mrs. William Frederic, 102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.10.
- 1913 Skinner, Major R. M., R.A.M. Corps, c/o Messrs. Holt and Co., 3, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
- 1921 Smith, Gordon P., Esq., Pasaje de Aguirre, Guatemala, C. America.
- 1906 Smith, J. de Berniere, Esq., 4, Gloucester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
- 1913 Smith, The Right Hon. James Parker, 41, Drumsheugh Gardens, Edinburgh.
- 1904 Smith, John Langford, Esq., H.B.M. Consular Service, China, c/o E. Greenwood, Esq., Frith Knowl, Elstree.
- 1918 Smith, Capt. R. Parker, Clarendon Road, Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge.
- 1922 Smith-Turberville, Henry, Esq., 19, Second Avenue, Hove, Sussex.
- 1920 Snow, G. H. A., Esq., c/o Kailan Mining Administration, Tangshan, Chihli, N. China.
- 1899 Società Geografica Italiana, Via del Plebiscito 102, Rome.
- 1920 Solomon, Lieut.-Colonel Harold J., O.B.E., M.C., Cavalry Club, 127, Piccadilly, W.1.
- 1899 South African Public Library, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town, South Africa.
- 1916 Soutter, Commander James J., Fairfield, Edenbridge, Kent.
- 1904 Stanton, John, Esq., High Street, Chorley, Lancashire.
- 1919 Steers, J. A., Esq., "Wycombe House," 2, Goldington Avenue, Bedford.
- 1916 Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.Litt., P.O. Srinagar, Kashmir.
- 1918 Stephen, A. G., Esq., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai.
- 1920 Stephens, Robert, Esq., Jehol, Chihli, N. China.
- 1847 Stevens, Son, and Stiles, Messrs. Henry, 39, Great Russell Street, W.C.1.
- 1919 Stevenson, J. A. D., Esq., c/o Messrs. R. and H. Green and Silley Weir, Ltd., Royal Albert Dock, E.16.
- 1847 Stockholm, Royal Library of (Kungl. Biblioteket), Sweden.
- 1920 Stradbroke, Colonel the Earl of, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O., C.B.E., Henham Hall, Wangford, Suffolk.
- 1919 Stuart, E. A., Esq., Alor Star, Kedah, Malay Peninsula.
- 1920 Superintendent Hamidya Library, Bhopal State, Central India.
- 1919 Sutton, Morris A., Esq., Thorney, Howick, Natal, S. Africa.
- 1909 Swan, J. D. C., Dr., 9, Castle Street, Barnstaple.
- 1920 Sweet, Henry N., Esq., 60, Congress Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1908 Sydney, University of, New South Wales.
- 1899 Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Molesworth, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.
- 1919 Symons, C. T., Esq., Government Analysts' Office, Colombo, Ceylon.

T.

- 1922 Tanner, Thomas Cameron, Esq., 190, Cromwell Road, S.W.5.
- 1914 Taylor, Frederic W., Esq., 3939, West Seventh Street, Los Angeles, California.
- 1921 Taylor, J. B., Esq., Chilterns, Wynberg Park, S. Africa.
- 1917 Taylour, Charles, Esq., Belmont Road, Sharples, Lanes.
- 1922 Teichman, Capt. Oskar, D.S.O. M.C., Hollington, Chislehurst, Kent.
- 1899 Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., India Office, S.W.1.
- 1920 Theomin, D. E., Esq., c/o Messrs. Glendermid, Ltd., 18, Dowling Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- 1922 Thomas, A. S., Esq., c/o Dominion Bank, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
- 1894 Thomson, Sir Basil Home, K.C.B., 81, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.8.
- 1906 Thomson, Colonel Charles FitzGerald, late 7th Hussars, Kilkenny House, Sion Hill, Bath.
- 1915 Thorne, J. A., Esq., I.C.S., Quay House, Kingsbridge, S. Devon.
- 1921 Thorne, R. C., Esq., West Leigh, Fairdene Road, Coulsdon.
- 1920 Tilley, J. S., Esq., c/o McKenzies, Ltd., Siwri, Bombay, India.
- 1914 Toronto Legislative Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
- 1896 Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
- 1890 Toronto University, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
- 1911 Tower, Sir Reginald, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1, and Memories, Ash, Canterbury.
- 1847 Travellers' Club, 106, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
- 1913 Trinder, W. H., Esq., Northerwood Park, Lyndhurst, Hants.
- 1847 Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1847 Trinity House, The Hon. Corporation of, Tower Hill, E.C.3.
- 1922 Truninger, Ulrich B., Esq., Estancia "San Diego," Rocamora, F.C.E.R., Argentina.
- 1920 Tucker, H. Scott, Esq., 2, Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.
- 1911 Tuckerman, Paul, Esq., 43, Cedar Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1918 Turnbull Library, The, Bowen Street, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1922 Tuson, Mrs. Isabel, Eldama Ravine, Kenya Colony, B.E. Africa.
- 1902 Tweedy, Arthur H., Esq., Widmore Lodge, Widmore, Bromley, Kent.
- 1922 Tyrrell, E. Bowes, Esq., 17, Camden Terrace, Clifton Vale, Bristol.

U.

- 1847 United States Congress, Library of, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1899 United States National Museum (Library of), Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1847 United States Naval Academy Library, Annapolis, Md., U.S.A.
- 1916 University Club Library, Fifth Avenue and 54th Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1920 University College Library, Cathays Park, Cardiff.
- 1847 Upsala University Library, Upsala, Sweden.
- 1920 Usher, Harry, Esq., Calle Florida 783, Buenos Aires.

V.

- 1921 Vajiranana National Library, The, Bangkok, Siam.
- 1920 Van den Bergh, Henry, Esq., 8, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.8.
- 1919 Vaughan, Paymaster-Lieut. H. R. H., The Lime House, Marlesford, Suffolk.
- 1899 Vernon, Roland Venables, Esq., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.1.
- 1899 Victoria, Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1909 Villiers, J. A. J. de, Esq., British Museum (*Hon. Secretary*) (2).

W.

- 1920 Wakefield, Lieut.-Col. T. M., D.S.O., Royal Artillery Mess, Blakan-mati, Singapore, Straits Settlements.
- 1919 Wales, National Library of, Aberystwyth, Wales.
- 1922 Walker, C. L., Esq., 365, Franklin Avenue, River Forest, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1921 Walker, Harry Leslie, Esq., 144, East 54th Street, New York City.
- 1920 Walker, Capt. J. B., R.A.F., 11, Broom Water, Teddington, S.W.
- 1902 War Office Library, Whitehall, S.W.1.
- 1847 Washington, Department of State, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1847 Washington, Library of Navy Department, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1918 Watanabe, Count Akira, 7, Takanawa Minamicho, Shibaku, Tokyo, Japan.
- 1899 Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A.
- 1921 Weir, John, Esq., "Dunbritton," The Drive, South Woodford, E.18.
- 1899 Weld, Rev. George Francis, 122, Eucalyptus Lane, Santa Barbara, California.
- 1899 Westaway, Engineer Rear-Admiral Albert Ernest Luscombe, Meadowcroft, 15, Longlands Road, Sidcup, Kent.
- 1913 Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, U.S.A.
- 1899 Westminster Public Library, Great Smith Street, S.W.1.
- 1898 Westminster School, Dean's Yard, S.W.1.
- 1921 Whibley, Miss Gertrude, The Chase, Wyke Hill, Winchester.
- 1914 White, John G., Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1893 Whiteway, Richard Stephen, Esq., Grayswood, Haslemore.
- 1921 Widdowson, W. P., Esq., Christ Church, Oxford.
- 1923 Williams, Miss K. A., 147, Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, Chelsea, S.W.10.
- 1899 Williams, O. W., Esq., Fort Stockton, Texas, U.S.A.
- 1914 Williams, Sidney Herbert, Esq., F.S.A., 32, Warrior Square, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
- 1920 Williamson, H., Esq., Gable Cottage, Cornwall Road, Harrogate.
- 1920 Wilson, G. L., Esq., Holland House, Bury Street, London, E.C.3.
- 1895 Wisconsin, State Historical Society of, Madison, Wisc., U.S.A.
- 1921 Wise, W. G., Esq., c/o London & River Plate Bank, Ltd., Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- 1918 Wood, A. E., Esq., Secretariat for Chinese Affairs, Hongkong.
- 1913 Wood, Henry A. Wise, Esq., 25, Madison Avenue, New York.
- 1900 Woodford, Charles Morris, Esq., C.M.G., The Grinstead, Partridge Green, Sussex.
- 1899 Worcester, Massachusetts, Free Library, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1910 Worcester College Library, Oxford.
- 1922 Worswick, A. E., Esq., c/o S. Pearson & Son, 47, Parliament Street, S.W.1.
- 1920 Wright, Rev. Frederick George, D.D., Kingscote, King Street, Chester.
- 1913 Wright, R., Esq., The Poplars, Worsley Road, Swinton, Lancs.

Y.

- 1847 Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
- 1919 Young, L. W. H., Esq., Shepherd Buildings, 120, Frere Road, Bombay.

Z.

- 1847 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, Switzerland.

